Kenji Matsuo

A History of Japanese Buddhism



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A HISTORY OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM

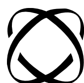


The Buddha (Śākyamuni) – secular name Gautama Siddhartha
(A Seirōji-style image of Śākyamuni enshrined at Saidaiji, Nara.)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



THIS IS MY seventeenth book, but my first in English. I have taught the history of Japanese Buddhism at Princeton University, Beijing Foreign Language University, London University and the State University of New York, and I have also given lectures in English at Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, Stanford, Virginia, London and elsewhere. This book is based on those lectures and class notes.

When I was a boy at junior high school, I studied English diligently. At that time, I had a dream: When I grew up, I would write a book in English. So, it may be said that my dream has now come true.

I wish to express my gratitude to those who helped me in the writing of this book: Max Falstar and Chie Hayashi who kindly produced a working translation of about half my original manuscripts from Japanese into English, and to Kevin Carr, Fiona Nogawa and Dorothy Woods who checked my English. I must also thank Professor John Breen, Professor James Harget, Dr Eisho Nasu and Gilda Leone who provided a great deal of assistance. I am also indebted to my students at Yamagata University who over the years have asked many valuable questions.

I would also like to thank Sōkagakkai and the following temples for allowing me to use photographs in this book: Saidaiji, Gokurakuji, Tōshōdaiji, Kongōbuji, Chionin temple, Higashi Honganji, Tōdaiji, Shōjōkōji, Jufukuji and Eiheiji.

Finally, it is the greatest pleasure to hand this book to my father who lives in a town in Nagasaki prefecture, and to my mother's spirit who died three years ago.

KENJI MATSUO
Spring 2007

JAPANESE CALENDAR

Since the 1 January 1873, Japan has used the Gregorian calendar. Prior to that a lunisolar calendar was in use, similar to that used in China. Since the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, three different systems for counting years have or had been used in Japan. (1) The Western *Anno Domini* (Common Era) – *seireki* – designation. (2) The Japanese era name (*nengō*) based on the reign of the current emperor – the year 2007 being Heisei 19. (3) The imperial year (*kōki*) based on the mythical founding of Japan by Emperor Jimmu in 660BC. The calendar dates in this text, however, are lunisolar, hence 'the seventh day of the tenth month of 1180 (Jishō 4).

JAPANESE TEMPLES

One of the Japanese words for 'temple' is 'ji', thus Ryoanji in Kyoto or Gokurakuji in Kamakura. Sometimes, Western practice adds the word 'temple'; thus Ryoanji Temple. Throughout this book, however, I have limited myself to the use of the Japanese term only, except when the word, temple, is used in general reference.

JAPANESE NAMES

According to Japanese convention, Japanese names are presented with family name first followed by the given name; thus, Minamoto Akikane. Because I have written this book as a working text or reader, I have also included the Japanese characters alongside each name reference to ensure correct reference to Japanese sources can be made. The exception is my own name, which follows Western publishing convention of putting the given name first; thus, Kenji Matsuo. My family name is Matsuo and given name is Kenji.)However, I have used the Western system throughout for Japanese names referred to in the Notes, but reverted to the Japanese name order in the Bibliography.)

JAPANESE WORDS

Unless the Japanese word has entered the English language, such as shogun, samurai or kimono, all other Japanese words used in the text are italicized. In the case of applying the macron for long vowels, this rule has not been applied to common place names, such as Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka.

LIST OF PLATES



INTRODUCTION



SEVEN YEARS HAVE passed since the new century began. Japanese society is still in the middle of a stormy economic recession, although, at last, some green shoots of renewal have begun to appear. Almost every day, newspapers and TV news report on the restructuring of organizations and the bankruptcies of corporations. Among the people around me, there are those who have resigned as an executive of a major bank or have started a new business with several friends. When I heard about this, I realized that even major banks are not stable employers. Daiei, the supermarket chain that developed rapidly and reached its peak when I was in my boyhood and youth, is now suffering from a mountain of debt and has just announced a restructuring plan including the massive lay-off of many of its employees. I became aware that the world is filled with changes, uncertainties and extraordinary phenomena. I cannot help but sympathize with middle-aged people who are made redundant by their companies when they have children at high school or university, as well as having mortgages to pay back, because I, too, am in a similar situation.

This book – *A History of Japanese Buddhism*[1] – focuses on the life, activity and role of monks known as *o-bō-san* in Japanese. '*O-bō-san*' is a term for a monk which contains a nuance of adoration. *Bō* 坊 (房) meant a room where monks lived, and later it came to refer to a monk who lived there. Our interest here is looking at monks as the main agents of Buddhism and the historical processes by which Japanese Buddhism has evolved through them up to the present day.

The practices and ideas of Buddhism began in north India, and officially reached Japan via China and Korea in the sixth

century. Buddhism was first preached by the Buddha around 463–383 BCE.[2] The Buddha was born about 2500 years ago in northern India (present-day Nepal) and is often called Śākyamuni, meaning 'sage of the Śākya clan'. His secular name was Gautama Siddhartha. Gautama means the 'best cow' (people in South Asia revere cows), and Siddartha means 'the goal has been achieved'. In Japan, he is popularly called 'Shaka', 'O-Shaka-sama', or 'Shakuson' – all based on transliterations of his original name.

'Buddha' means 'an enlightened person' in Sanskrit, the standard language of ancient South Asia and is the language of its classical literature. The term '*buddha*' was transliterated in Chinese characters even before Buddhism arrived in Japan. Thus, at first, the term was not used solely for Gautama Siddartha, but later, it became specifically a Buddhist term. Many Buddhist terms expressed in Chinese characters are transliterated from Sanskrit.

The function of religions

Before we go on, we should consider what is meant by calling Buddhism a 'religion'. The Japanese in general are categorized as Buddhists, and funerals are almost always held according to Buddhist ritual. Nevertheless, it is a fact that many Japanese are either not religious or are indifferent to religion. However, when incidents occur, such as those related to the religious conflict between the Israelis and Arabs, or the bombing of the Buddhist cultural heritage in Bamiyan in Afghanistan by the Taliban, the Japanese media cover such religious problems extensively. If you look closely, you will notice that religious problems occur on a daily basis somewhere in the world, and that religion is considered so important that people will even risk their lives to defend it.

In considering what religion is, Marx's frequently quoted observation that 'Religion is the opium of the masses' is persuasive since it sharply highlights one aspect of religion.[3] Marx insisted on the abolition of religion. Like a drug, he claimed, religion paralyses and ruins people's minds, therefore, it should be prohibited. This became the theoretical background for the suppression of religious communities in communist and socialist

countries. Many religious leaders were cruelly killed and religious institutions were destroyed. Marx no doubt had ethnic conflicts in mind, but his statement certainly provided a theoretical endorsement for such violent acts.

When I was a university student, it was long before the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the USSR, and Marxist economics and history were flourishing. There were many teachers and senior students at that time who, with serious faces, said: 'Religion is the opiate of the masses.' Because I chose to major in Buddhist Studies, this phrase would often occur in texts or discussions and I came to the view that yes, 'religion is the opium of the masses, and therefore, it is wonderful'. Morphine (which is one of the main narcotic components of opium) is used in large quantities in hospitals despite its side effects and a fear of users becoming dependent. Many of us will be given morphine at the end of your life if we suffer great pain. Morphine is an excellent anodyne. It has a strong and long-lasting pain-killing effect, it is inexpensive and helps relieve the severe chronic pains of cancer and other diseases. Religion has a healing effect like morphine for the sick, for those who face distress and difficulty in their lives and have been hurt.

However, like drugs, religion can also have adverse effects. The Taliban in Afghanistan destroyed the Buddha images in Bamiyan because they had been created by non-Muslims. Terrorist activities by Islamic and Jewish extremist groups and the *sarin* gas attacks by AUM Shinrikyo[4] in Japan in 1994–95 are other examples of extreme adverse effects.

Nevertheless, religion offers more than healing for people who are suffering. It provide followers with guiding principles and support in their lives. Religion can be defined as a 'myth to enable one to accept one's life'. To avoid any misunderstanding, the term 'myth' implies 'an important and significant holy story' instead of what is commonly perceived as 'a fictitious story'. Humans are beings that cannot help searching for the meaning of life. How should I live? What should I do? Why do I have to face such a fate? You may have asked these questions, or worried about these things, and one might argue that these questions are too important to leave to science alone to provide the answers. One thing that can provide an answer is religion – it offers holy

stories that teach us the meaning of life, gives us principles to live by and helps us understand our fate.

It is widely known that Christianity provided the inspiration for a nun known as Mother Teresa[5] (1910–97, real name Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu) who lived most of her life in the slums of Calcutta, India. She had been engaged in relief activities for the poor, orphans and those afflicted with Hansen's disease (leprosy) for which she became a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1979. While travelling in a train in September 1946, Agnes heard the voice of God saying to her: 'Be with the poor, and serve the poor,' thereby changing the course of her life forever. Christianity provided the route to the way of life this Albanian girl should follow, gave her strength to overcome many great difficulties and changed her into a great person the world came to know and love as Mother Teresa. Buddhism has the same power. As we shall see, people like Ninshō 忍性 (1217–1303) and others devoted themselves to serving others just as Mother Teresa did.

Notes

[1] There are many beginners' books written in Japanese to teach Japanese Buddhism, but there are very few beginners' books written in English about it. If you want to obtain more information about Japanese Buddhism beyond what is contained here you might look at the following: Kazuo Kasahara, *A History of Japanese Religion* (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Company, 2002); Yūsen Kashiwahara and Kōyū Sonoda (eds), *Shapers of Japanese Buddhism* (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Company, 1994); Yoshirō Tamura, *Japanese Buddhism: A Cultural History,* trans. Jeffrey Hunter (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Company, 2000); H. Byron Earhart, *Religion in the Japanese Experience: Sources and Interpretation* (Encino: Dickeson Publishing Company, 1974); George J. Tanabe Jr., *Religions of Japan in Practice*, George J. Tanabe (ed.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[2] There are different views as to the actual dates of the historical Buddha, but I follow the view of Hajime Nakamura (See Hajime Nakamura, *Gautama Buddha* (Tokyo: Shūnjūsha, 1992). If you want to know about the life of Buddha and his thought, these books are useful: Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha: as legend and history* (London: Kegan Paul & Co, 1931); A. Foucher, *The Life of the Buddha: according to the ancient texts and monuments of India*, trans. Simone Brangier Boas (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2003); Richard F. Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism: a social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988); Walpola Rahula, *What the Buddha taught* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1997); Etienne Lamotte, *History of*

Indian Buddhism: from the origins to the 'Saka' era, trans. Sara Webb-Boin (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1988).

[3] Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* /Karl Marx (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* 1844).

[4] Susumu Shimazono, *AUM Shinrikyō no Kiseki*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 'In the Wake of Aum' *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 22(3–4), 1995.

[5] See David Scott, *A Revolution of Love: The Meaning of Mother Teresa* (Chicago: Loyal Press, 2005).

CHAPTER 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM



Marriage of Japanese monks

ALTHOUGH THERE MAY be some differences between various sects, in general Buddhist monks today can be defined as those people who:

1) were born as sons of temple families
2) studied Buddhism
3) took the tonsure
4) changed their names
5) dress in a surplice and other monk's clothing
6) live in temples, and
7) conduct funerals and other memorial services.

Let us look into how these characteristics developed and the historical influences that prevailed at the time.

First, in most Buddhist countries other than Japan, monks are prohibited from marrying, so it would seem to be inherently problematic for a Buddhist monk to have a wife and children. When I talk with people about this tradition in Buddhist countries such as Thailand and Taiwan, they always ask me, 'Why do monks marry and have children in Japan?' In Thailand, the social status of monks is very high, and monks have great influence and are respected[1] by people. The monks' behaviour attracts public attention. Whenever there is a rumour that a senior priest is having an affair with a young, unmarried woman, he is severely

criticized by the media. Surprisingly in Japan, however, such behaviour would rarely be of much interest or perceived as scandalous gossip.

Buddhism has rules and regulations, called precepts, that Śākyamuni is said to have formulated for monks to observe. To become a monk, one has to go through a ritual to become a disciple of the Buddha in which one pledges oneself to observe and practise the precepts. Among them is the prohibition against having sexual relations, so Buddhism from the very beginning has prohibited monks from marrying. The representative collection of precepts entitled '*Shibunritsu*'[2] stipulates that a monk should observe 250 precepts (348 precepts for a nun). More importantly, one can be expelled from the Buddhist order for violation of any of the four most important precepts – not to have sexual relations, not to kill, not to steal and not to be boastful of attaining enlightenment. The main reason why Buddhists in South East Asia criticize Japanese Buddhism for not being true Buddhism is essentially to do with this point. The ignoring of the fundamental precepts, typified in the acceptance of married monks, is a characteristic of Japanese Buddhism.

To become a monk is called '*shukke* 出家' meaning leaving one's family to live a cloistered life. The Buddha taught that monks should leave their families to become free from the compelling demands of family life. An episode about Śākyamuni when he was still leading a householder's life is a good illustration of the Buddhist view of family life. A messenger came to him informing him of the birth of his first son. At the news, he murmured, 'Ah, fetters have emerged.' The Sanskrit word for 'fetters' is 'Rahula'. The messenger mistook this for the name to be given to the son, hence, the first son was given this strange name.

This episode seems to be fictitious, yet, it implies that Śākyamuni considered the birth of a child would fetter him and consequently reinforced his determination to leave his family. '*Shukke*' is also termed '*tokudo* 得度', meaning 'becoming able to cross' – that is, cross from this world of troubles and anxieties to the other world of enlightenment, far beyond mundane preoccupations.

Buddhist studies

Children of monks receive education in Buddhist teachings at Buddhist-oriented universities or special schools. The majority of Japanese sects were developed as new Buddhist sects in the Kamakura Period (1185–1333). It is often said that there are 84,000 teachings of the Buddha. While the teachings of Christianity as they are known today are contained in one book – the Bible – one Japanese collection of sūtras entitled *Taishō Shinshū Daizō-kyō*[3] contains 12,170 volumes of 3,130 Buddhist titles. The total of 83,198 printed pages are contained in a hundred books.

However, the basic education that the children of monks receive today in order to become priests is not necessarily the teachings of the Buddha Śākyamuni, but rather the teachings of the founder of each sect, for example, Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262) for the Jōdo Shinshū sect or Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–82) for the Nichiren-shū sect. The dominant sects of today are in line with the newly established Buddhist sects from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century. This is another characteristic of Japanese Buddhism.

Shaving hair

With the exception of the monks of the Jōdo Shinshū sect, Japanese monks shave their heads. In the book of precepts, it is written that after seeing a disciple who looked like a goblin because his hair grew too long, Śākyamuni ordered him to have his hair shaved. Usually, the reason given for having a shaved head is to do away with the ostentation and arrogance of the secular world based on the second fascicle of a text called *Sūtra: the Causes and Effects of the Past and the Present* (J. *Kako genzai inga-kyō* 過去現在因果経).[4]

From a religious point of view, hair symbolizes vitality. It is because people see vitality in hair that thinly-haired people and people with grey hair are perceived as looking older. Looking older implies the weakening of vitality. Thus, to get one's head shaved radically reduces the impression of vitality. In other words, the act of shaving one's head symbolizes one's 'death' as a secular person when becoming a monk. As such, the act was considered symbolic on entering cloistered Buddhist life.

In the past, it was customary practice to spare the life of a warrior if he entered a temple and had his hair shaved, signifying he had surrendered. According to the text *Taiheiki* (*ca.* 1371), Nitta Yoshisada's 新田義貞 (1301–38) troops despatched by the Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288–1339) approached Kamakura, and the opponent Ashikaga's troops ran into difficulty. In order to display allegiance to the Emperor, the leader Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–58) cut off his topknot (in preparation for shaving his head) and entered the Kenchōji. In this case, however, his younger brother Ashikaga Tadayoshi 足利直義 (1306–52) forged an order by the Emperor which stated, 'I will not allow you [to live] even if you become a monk.' Looking at the order, Takauji then decided to fight against the Emperor.[5] Behind such a story is the the implication that a warrior entering a temple and having his head shaved becomes a non-combatant.

The Jōdo Shinshū sect has a 'non-priest, non-layman' policy, thereby positioning the monks between the two. In the Jōdo Shinshū sect, however, monks have their head shaved when they first become monks (in the case of women, their hair is shaved only as a formality).

Changing names

When someone becomes a monk, he changes his personal name to a Buddhist one (usually, the family name remains the same). For example, the monk commonly known as Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), who is considered the founder of the Jōdo sect, was known as Uruma Seishimaru 漆間勢至丸 as a secular person. Hōnen was a popular name (indicating the name of the place where he lived) but his real Buddhist name was Genkū 源空. In those days, people hesitated to call a high-ranking person by their official name, and usually used a common name instead, so that he become known simply as Hōnen. The change of name from Uruma Seishimaru to Hōnen Genkū suggests a simultaneous death as a secular person and rebirth as a religious person.

When someone dies and has a Buddhist funeral, his family temple gives him a posthumous Buddhist name, called *kaimyō* 戒名, *hōmyō* 法名 or *hō-gō* 法号 depending on the sect. People often wonder about the significance of obtaining a posthumous

name as well as the expense of aquiring it. The posthumous Buddhist name implies that the person goes to the other world as a disciple of Śākyamuni. Therefore, this is a special name given to an individual as proof of his or her faith in Buddhism.

In Buddhism, as we have already noted, there are various precepts (rules for living) that followers are required to observe, and there are additional precepts that monks are required to observe. The number and the content of the precepts for these two groups are different. Those who decide to become Buddhists must make a pledge that they will observe these precepts. A Buddhist name is given only to those who have undertaken the ritual of making a pledge (*jukai* 受戒) as a symbol of being a disciple of Śākyamuni. In principle, lay Buddhists should go through the ritual of making a pledge to observe the precepts and obtain Buddhist names while they are living.

However, in reality, the family of a deceased person asks the priest of the family temple to give him a posthumous Buddhist name, and engraves the name on the mortuary tablet and tombstone. No one but a priest can give such a name.

There are both common and different points in the way posthumous Buddhist names are assigned according to the different sects and regions. I will confine myself here, therefore, to an explanation of some of the common points. Long names such as 'Yōkō-in, Tenshin-Kanyū-Daikoji 陽光院天真寛裕大居士' (10 Chinese characters) 'Jishō-in, Misora-Hiyori-Sei-Daishi 慈唱院美空日和清大姉' (10) or 'Shōtoku-inden, Eiyo-Dōki-Jōsei-Kōkun-Daikoji 昇徳院殿英誉道毅浄生洪勲大居士' (15) are written on a mortuary tablet. In a narrow sense, only two Chinese characters indicate a Buddhist name. Initially, only two characters were used for *kaimyō* or *hō-gō*, but gradually, other categories of title came to be added, such as *in-gō* 院号, *dō-gō* 道号, and *i-gō* 位号, until the present style became accepted. In the case of the Zen sect, for example, the following pattern is applied:

in-gō	*dō-gō*	*hō-gō*	*i-gō*
Yōkō-in	Tenshin	Kanyū	Daikoji

Each name category consists of two Chinese characters. Depending on the age of the deceased, only the two names consisting of four characters (*hō-gō* and *i-gō*) are used.

In-gō names are given in accordance with the level of contribution that the deceased has made to the family temple, the level of his or her faith, the perceived contribution to society, as well as financial strength and personality. The '*in*' of the name is an honorific title indicating the residence of an emperor after retirement. Every emperor was referred to by his residence name after abdicating the throne. The term was first used in 823 with the Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786–842), who was fond of high fashion and had a residence called 'Reizei-in' built for his post-retirement life. The use of the *in-gō* title was initially only permitted to people of the highest rank, but later, it was expanded to include lower-ranking people. Furthermore, '*koji* 居士' (or '*dai-koji*'), that is part of an *i-gō*, is a name used for a lay disciple of the Buddha who goes through meditation training in the Zen sect. Of the three examples of posthumous Buddhist names above, 'Yōkō-in, Tenshin-Kanyū-Daikoji' was given to the late superstar (film actor and singer) Ishiwara Yūjirō 石原裕次郎 (1934–87), 'Jishō-in, Misora-Hiyori-Sei-Daishi' was for the late superstar singer Misora Hibari 美空ひばり (1937–89), and 'Shōtoku-inden-Eiyo-Dōki-Jōsei-Kōkun-Daikoji' is for the late Gotō Noboru 五島昇 (1916–89) who was president of the Tōkyū conglomerate and held many offices, including the honorary chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce. All these names are impressive and are a reminder of the individuals when they were alive. In the case of singer Misora Hibari, the letter '*shō* 唱' (singing) suggests that she was a singer, and her stage name Misora is included. In the case of Ishiwara Yūjirō, his strong youthful image is contained in 'Tenshin 天真', and part of his name 'Yū 裕' is included. In Gotō Noburu's name, the Chinese character for his name 'Noboru' is used in the *in-gō* category, and the entire name expresses the image of a businessman. The Buddhist name was automatically given to people entering the Buddhist order to separate them from their secular names, but now, for posthumous Buddhist names, the characters suggesting a part of the deceased's secular or business life and other activities are often used.

These principles remain as principles, because different sects approach them in different ways. The Jōdo Shinshū sect, for example, uses the term '*hōmyō*' instead of '*kaimyō*' for a posthumous Buddhist name, and uses '*shaku*' (釈, as in 'Śākyamuni') and two Chinese characters (three characters in total) for men and '*shaku ni*' (釈尼, 'Śākyamuni' + 'nun') and two Chinese characters (four characters) for women. If an *in-gō* is added, it comes at the beginning.

Temples levy a fee for providing a posthumous Buddhist name, often giving rise to controversy over the high cost. In earlier times, *in-gō* was applied only to the highest ranks such as the emperor and members of the shogunate. Later, it came to be used for pious people with high academic learning and personality, who made significant contributions to temples and sects. Those who were given the *in-gō* status were a limited few in a village or town. However, recently, many people seek to obtain an attractive posthumous Buddhist name including an *in-gō* title, even though they are not religious and have not made any contributions to the local temple. It is said, that, for these reasons, temples began demanding a high price as a one-off payment.

Clothing of monks

The basic garment that a monk wears is called a '*kesa* 袈裟' (transliterated from Sanskrit '*kaṣāya*'). The term originally meant 'dull-coloured cloth' because the monks cut up the cloth offered by followers, patching the pieces together and dying the garment in dull colours. According to the 'four-fold precepts' (*Shibunritsu*), the cloth was supposed to be dyed either in blue, black or madder red. The precept explains that by intentionally dying the cloth in dull colours, a monk should depart from the ostentation and arrogance of secular life. Elsewhere in the world, the *kesa* refers to a monk's clothes in general, whereas in Japan, the term has come to be applied to the outer garment only.

Functions of temples

Monks live in temples, which vary in scale throughout Japan. Tōdaiji in Nara and Enryakuji in Shiga, for example, are very

large, whereas many others are small comprising just one resident priest and his family. In particular, major temples with long histories as public temples from ancient Japan were once multi-functional institutions resembling academic institutes, art museums and concert halls. Monks had to study the Buddhist sūtras, so temples also played a role as Buddhist study centres. Temples had nursing-care facilities, and those which included monks who had studied Chinese medicine in China functioned as hospitals. In fact, some temples actually produced and sold herbal medicines until the Japanese 'Drugs, Cosmetics and Medical Instruments Act' came into force in 1960.

Buddhist sculptures, paintings and other artworks that revealed the world of Buddhism were displayed in temples. I personally like the image of Asura in the National Treasure Hall of Kōfukuji in Nara, and I understand people in the past would visit temples to see their favourite artworks. As such, temples also took on the role of museums.

Furthermore, monks themselves were engaged in the creation of these artworks; consequently, temples sometimes served as their artistic training schools. In the West, art and music are said to have developed from Christianity. The same is true with Buddhism in Japan: temples became centres of excellence for art and entertainment. Finally, in Japan, only Japanese priests perform funerals. People today, therefore, associate temples with cemeteries and think of priests as funeral directors. Yet, in actual fact, Tōdaiji, Enryakuji and many other major temples, which were originally built as public temples did not have cemeteries before the Second World War. This was because the official priests of these major public temples were required to avoid the impurity of death (which was considered to be transmitted by touching a corpse or by staying in the same place with a corpse). They were involved with the funerals of the emperors, of course, in which case they had to observe a thirty-day confinement because they had been in close proximity with the impurity of death. It was the Buddhist sects that emerged from the twelfth century onwards that began to actively engage their monks in funerals. This was revolutionary, and became possible only after the monks liberated themselves from the taboos surrounding death.

It is unusual for monks to perform funerals in other parts of the

Buddhist world. In Korea, for example, Buddhist monks never get involved in funerals.[6] As such, the engagement in funerals can be cited as one of the distinctive characteristics of Japanese Buddhism. Japanese Buddhism is often ridiculed as 'funerary Buddhism' since temples engage in rites for the deceased, manage cemeteries and organize memorial services and rituals. Thus, they are criticized for not responding to those individuals who are seeking the path to salvation.

Summary

We have identified three basic, distinguishing characteristics of Buddhism in Japan today:

1) Some Buddhist precepts are often ignored, most significantly the fact that Japanese monks marry.
2) Prominent sects are in line with the newly established Buddhist sects that developed from the twelfth to the fourteeth centuries.
3) Monks perform funerals.

These three characteristics are mutually related, with 1) and 3) developing as a result of the activities of the newly established sects of 2).

Until the Meiji Restoration of 1868, an additional characteristic of Japanese Buddhism was the syncretism of Shintō and Buddhism.[7] Indigenous deities and Buddhism were fused, and native gods were seen as embodiments of the buddhas. Shintō and Buddhism were considered a unified entity. Therefore, some of the shrines today were formerly temples where monks lived.

Notes

[1] In Japan, there is a phrase 'three-day monk', which mocks a person who has no persistence or endurance to continue to do one thing. Yet in Thailand, it is considered good to become a monk even for a short period of time.
[2] See Mitsuo Satō *Ritsu Zō* (Tokyo: Ōkura shūttupan, 1972).
[3] Junjirō Takakusu et al. (eds) (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934).
[4] *Taishō Shinshū Daizō-kyō*, Vol.3. (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924).

[5] See Kenji Matsuo, *Taiheiki* (Tokyo, Chūōkōronshinsha, 2001), 62–64.
[6] As a result of Japan's colonization of Korea, 1910–45, Korean Buddhism was greatly influenced by Japanese Buddhism and like their Japanese counterparts, Koren priests are mainly engaged in funerals.
[7] Of course, we cannot ignore Shintō when studying Japanese Buddhism. According to a 1997 survey, some 70 per cent of Japanese visit a shrine at New Year (*hatsumōde*), and over 50 per cent celebrate the birth of a new baby (*hatsumiya*), or their child's third, fifth and seventh birthdays (*shichigosan*), by making a shrine visit. However, in this book I do not consider Shintō in detail because my focus is purely on Buddhism, but see page 38. For readers wishing to understand Shintō, I would recommend the following title which provides a good introduction: Nobutaka Inoue, Satoshi Itō, Jun Endō and Mizue Mori: *Shintō A Short History*, translated and adapted by Mark Teeuven and John Breen (Richmond: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

CHAPTER 2

ANCIENT BUDDHISM – OFFICIAL MONKS



Official introduction of Buddhism

IT IS SAID that King Sŏng Myŏng, (聖明, 523–554, J.: Seimei) of Paekche, one of the kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula, sent a Buddha image, some sūtras and monks to Japan in 538 (or in 552 according to another source[1]). But it is likely that Buddhism had reached Japan even earlier via visitors from the peninsula on a private and unofficial basis. Around that time, however, the Japanese believed in many deities of heaven and earth. A controversy over the introduction of Buddhism occurred between the two most influential families: the Soga 蘇我 family, headed by Iname 稲目 (d. 570) and Umako 馬子 (d. 626), supported the importation of Buddhism; the Mononobe 物部 family, including Okoshi 尾輿 (n.d.) and Moriya 守屋 (d. 587), opposed its introduction.

It is notable that people understood the Buddha as a foreign god, or a visiting god, that had mystic power to bring about both blessings and divine punishments. At the time, Buddhism was not considered a universal religion capable of responding to an individual's particular anxieties.

Two types of religion

Here, we should take a moment to consider the two general types of religion found in the world today. One is called a world or universal religion such as Christianity, Islam or Buddhism. These

religions have universal qualities that can be spread across many borders and claim to go beyond differences in race, ethnic background, nationality, gender or occupation. The reason for these religions spreading around the world is that they are targeted at individuals, not necessarily signifying 'individual' in the modern sense, but individual people seeking salvation. Therefore, I call them 'religions for individuals'.

The second type could be called communal religion which seeks the salvation of communities. Among this type, there are Judaism for Jewish people and Shintō for Japanese people that exclude other people from the pursuit of salvation who do not belong to the group. There are also communal religions based on village gods and other guardian gods for specific districts. These religions aim to bring about the salvation of individuals as members of communities.

Buddhism was originally conceived as a universal religion or a religion for individuals. However, when it was officially introduced into Japan, the Buddha was integrated as a guest or visiting god into the communal religion based on belief in the traditional Japanese pantheon of deities of heaven and earth.

First Japanese nuns

According to *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (The Chronicles of Japan), Soga no Umako was presented with an image of a buddha from Packche (Korea) in 584, and built the temple to enshrine it (Hōkōji 法興寺, Asuka-mura, Takechi-gun, Nara). He then commissioned Hyep'yon (恵便, J.: Ebin, n.d.), a man from the Korean kingdom of Kōrai 高麗 (Koguryō) who had left the priesthood, to train three women as nuns. One of them was a daughter of a man named Shiba Tatto, and the rest were her servants. Tatto had come to Japan from the peninsula, and his daughter was named Zenshin-ni and her servants were Zenzō-ni 禅蔵尼 (n.d.), and Ezen-ni 恵善尼 (n.d.). *Nihon Shoki* states that, 'Buddhism in Japan began with this'. We can readily understand that people at the beginning of the eighth century saw the ordaining of these three nuns as the origin of Japanese Buddhism. Later, these three nuns went to Packche to study more about Buddhism, returning to Nara in Japan in 590.

It is thought that the Japanese hesitated to accept Buddhism as it had arrived as a foreign religion, whereas the Shibas and other families who had come to Japan from the Korean peninsula showed little resistance to it. Furthermore, as is clear from the example of rulers such as Himiko, in ancient Japan females may have been thought to be better qualified to engage in religious matters.

Shōtoku Taishi, father of Japanese Buddhism

Prince Shōtoku 聖徳 (Shōtoku Taishi, 574–622) played a key role in establishing Buddhism in Japan right after its official introduction. Shōtoku was a nephew of Empress Suiko, the first empress in Japan, and served her as regent. He was famous as an able statesman both in domestic and diplomatic affairs who had formulated the so-called 'Seventeen Article Constitution' in 604; he also instituted the twelve Chinese-style cap ranks for courtiers in 603, and sent official envoys to the Sui Dynasty in China (607 and on three other occasions). He promoted Buddhism, erecting Shitennōji (Tennōji-ku, Osaka), and Hōryūji (Ikaruga-machi, Nara).[2]

Immediately after his death, Prince Shōtoku was sanctified and people began to worship him. In a legend, he was nicknamed Umayado-no-miko (holy child born in a stable), which many have pointed out resembles the birth episode of Jesus Christ. It is thought that this story may have been influenced by the Nestorian sect of Christianity, which had reached China by this time.

It is difficult to know what kind of person Shōtoku really was. Yet, it seems clear that he was born in 574 as a son of Emperor Yōmei 用命天皇 (d. 587) and Anahobe Hashihitono Himemiko 穴穂部間人皇女 (d. 622). The emperor died when Shōtoku was fourteen years old, and he became regent to his aunt when she ascended the throne as Suiko in 593 after a crisis in the royal family.

Legend has it that Prince Shōtoku was a precocious and devout child who became a great scholar of Buddhism. He insisted that Buddhism provided every person and every nation with teachings that they should follow, and a point of reference to

rectify mistaken ideas and behaviours. The objective of his Seventeen Article Constitution was the realization of an ethical state without internal conflicts which would be made possible by enhancing the morality of bureaucrats. In addition, he is known as the compiler of three sūtra commentaries for the Buddhist texts, *Hokekyō* (*Lotus Sūtra*), *Yuimagyō* (*Vimalakirti-nirdesa-sūtra*) and *Shōmangyō*. Although it is generally agreed that scholars around Prince Shōtoku (and not he himself) produced these explanatory books as well as the Constitution, he was clearly a powerful force behind the establishment of Buddhist ideas in Japan.[3]

Did Prince Shōtoku believe in Buddhism? This is not clear either. In the *Nihon Shoki* record of the pre-coronation of the Emperor Jōmei, Shōtoku is quoted as having enunciated classic Buddhist phrases such as, 'this world is provisional and only the Buddha is the truth', and 'don't do all kinds of evil acts; rather, do many kinds of good things instead'. From these descriptions, it has long been believed that Prince Shōtoku was a Buddhist follower. However, it was subsequently revealed that these were the words of the Empress Suiko and not those of Prince Shōtoku. Consequently, it is not clear whether Prince Shōtoku was a Buddhist follower or not. What is clear, however, is that Buddhism took root in Japan after the Prince Shōtoku era and flourished as a religion closely connected with the government; consequently, it is often refered to as 'state Buddhism'. It can be said, however, that the myth of Shōtoku Taishi as the father of Japanese Buddhism was born as Buddhism began to spread during the period when the prince held political power.

The embroidered woven curtain called 'Tenjukoku (The country in Heaven)', Shūchō treasured in Chūgūji in Nara, should be taken into account when considering the relationship between the prince and Buddhism. Princess Tachibana-no-Ōiratsume, the wife of Prince Shōtoku, had two of them woven in order to know where the late prince was reborn. 'Tenjukoku' is seen as heaven governed by Amitābha. It should be noted that the main concern among Buddhists was where they would be reborn. One of Buddhism's fundamental principles is the rebirth of all living things through *karma*. It means every living thing repeats the cycle of life and death. In Buddhism, unless one is

enlightened, or undergoes Buddhist emancipation, every person must transmigrate within the world of *maya* (illusion). Direct and indirect causes for transmigration lie in the behaviour of a person in this life, that is to say, the natural consequence of one's deeds. The typical world of *maya* is the world of desires. In the world of desires, there are six worlds – the world of hell, that of starvation, that of animals, (these are evil worlds), that of Asura, that of humans and that of heaven (these three are good worlds). Princess Tachibana might have wished that Prince Shōtoku would go to heaven.

Monks as government officers

In the sixth month of 645, a *coup d'état* occurred to eliminate the Soga family by Prince Naka-no-Ōe 中大兄皇子 (626–671, later the Emperor Tenji 天智天皇) and Nakatomi Kamatari 中臣鎌足 (614–669). This is commonly called the Taika Reform. From this incident, Buddhism became emperor-centred. In the eighth month of 701, the Taihō Statute was enacted and a Chinese-style centralized state was established based on the statute. Under this state, Japanese Buddhism was developed as state Buddhism. In other words, Buddhism in ancient Japan was linked with the state, and its main role was praying for the wellbeing of the state centring on the emperor. The monks who prayed for the protection of the state were official monks.

The status of official monks was regulated in the '*Sō-Ni Ryō*' (Ordinance of Monks and Nuns) enacted in 701 and other regulations, '*Engi-shiki* 延喜式', regulations relative to the application of the law in 967 and other regulations. According to these documents, official monks were registered in a special register. They ranked as the eighth position of government officials and above, and were appointed to monks' positions such as '*dentō dai-hoshi* 伝灯大法師', '*hokkyō* 法橋', '*hōgen* 法眼', '*hōin* 法印', etc. and monk officers such as '*kokushi* 国師', '*risshi* 律師', '*sōzu* 僧都', '*sōjō* 僧正', etc. Kūkai, for example, was appointed '*dai sōzu* 大僧都', in 830.

Official monks were exempted from military and other duties, were given board and lodging and clothing, and enjoyed privileges under criminal law (a one-level lower punishment was

applied when a monk committed a crime). There were restrictions such as not educating the public and obligations such as avoiding impurity. They were not allowed to preach Buddhist teachings outside the temple without permission from the temple. This restriction stands in sharp contrast to Nichiren, one of the representative founders of Kamakura New Buddhist sects, who stood at street corners to preach; however, the restriction does not appear to be strictly observed. Even so, the situation would have been very different with or without the restriction.

The avoidance of impurity suggests the avoidance of touching a corpse. As previously mentioned, when a monk touched a corpse, he had to subject himself to a thirty-day mandatory confinement. For this reason, unlike contemporary monks, in the early days they refrained from conducting funerals. The main supporters of ancient Buddhism in Japan were official monks, and this system was established in the eighth century. So, what procedures and processes were necessary to become official monks? We will look at this next.

Preconditions to becoming official monks

Various procedures were required including obtaining the approval by the emperor to go through an official initial ordination. A private initial ordination was prohibited. The emperor had the power to allow whomsoever and however many people he wanted to become official monks. Those who wished to become one had to sit for an examination, which included reciting the *Hokekyō* (Lotus) sutra or the *Saishō-ō-kyō* sutra, both in Chinese pronunciation and Japanese translation, as well as an examination on specific Buddhist teachings.

Consequently, they needed to study Buddhist sutras and teachings under teacher monks. Historical documents express this style of learning as ‘entering so-and-so’s chamber’, ‘devoting oneself in so-and-so’s room’ or just ‘entrance into a chamber’. These lay Buddhists preparing to become monks are referred to as *ubasoku* or *ubai*. In the eighth century, a system was in place for recommending the lay trainees to sit for the examination. When a trainee passed the examination, he went through an initial ordination that included having his hair shaved, pledging to observe the precepts,

obtaining a Buddhist name (forsaking his secular name), and wearing monk's clothing (*kesa*). One pledged to observe the ten precepts at this ceremony. Each novice made pledges before their mentors to observe the ten precepts, namely not to kill, not to steal, not to have sexual relations, not to tell someone that they had attained enlightenment, not to drink alcohol, not to eat after noon, not to dance, play music or see theatrical performances, not to decorate their rooms or burn incense in their rooms, not to sleep in a high and wide bed, and not to receive gold and silver. After going through the official initiation ordination, they received a certificate called *dochō* or *doen*, and were assigned to different temples to be engaged in meditation and prayer for the stability of the state. This system of the admittance of official monks became considerably simplified as time went by, and in the middle ages, it was up to each temple to decide whom and when it would appoint as its official monks. Even so, the final decision-making power remained in the hands of the emperor.

Gyōki – builder of temples

One of the famous monks of the Nara era (710–784) was Gyōki 行基 (668–749). He was born in Ōtori-gun in Kawachi province, present-day Sakai city in Osaka. His father, Koshi Saichi was a descendant of an immigrant from the Korean peninsula. It appears that Gyōki went through an initial ordination at the age of sixteen, and became an official monk belonging to Yakushiji. Later, he left the temple and propagated Buddhism in the Ki region. He became well known for his involvement in implementing social programmes such as constructing irrigation ponds, ditches and bridges. Even today, there are irrigation ponds in the region, which are assumed to be the work of Gyōki. Clearly, he was quite different from the official monks mentioned previously. What is more, Gyōki conducted initial ordinations for his trainees without approval from the emperor. In other words, he organized a group of monks that he had privately allowed to become monks. As this was considered to be a violation of '*Sō-Ni Ryō*' (Ordinance of Monks and Nuns) enacted in 701 prohibiting the propagation of Buddhism among the general public, Gyōki and his followers were suppressed.

However, Emperor Shōmu and others who were struggling to raise enough funds for the Great Buddha Image in Nara (completed in the fourth month of 752), took note of Gyōki's ability to collect money from among the public, and therefore officially authorized Gyōki's group in order to secure their cooperation in the construction of the Buddha image. As a result, Gyōki was promoted to the highest rank of official monk, Sōjō, and went on to build as many as forty-nine temples. That is to say, Gyōki and his group were formally merged into the official monk community.

There is an interesting legend about the birth of Gyōki in *Genkō shakusho* (completed in 1322). As he was born in the amnion (i.e. with membranes intact), his mother took an aversion to him, and tried to abandon him by placing him on the branch of a tree. The following day, when she returned to the tree, she found that the baby was free of the amnion and crying loudly. So pleased, the mother recovered the boy and raised him with great care. From this episode, we can assume that at that time, a baby born in the amnion was feared and avoided, and often abandoned. However, if the baby, like Gyōki, managed to survive, the person came to be respected as a sacred being. In Europe, a baby born in the amnion was also considered to be a holy person.

However, as the book containing the episode of Gyōki's birth was compiled 600 years after Gyōki's time, it is impossible to know whether the story was true or not. In ancient and medieval times, children of abnormal births, including premature births such as Eisai's, were considered to be holy beings. Consequently, such an episode might have been added to the personal histories of venerable monks.

The ranking of monks

There was a formal hierarchy in the monk's community. In particular, the type of ordination varied according to a ranking system, especially the number of precepts that one pledged to observe. Buddhist followers were classified into seven categories, i.e. *biku* 比丘 (Skt.: *bhikṣu*), *bikuni* 比丘尼 (Skt.: *bhikṣuṇī*), *shami* 沙弥 (Skt.: *srāmaṇera*), *shikishamana*, *shamani* 沙弥尼, *ubasoku*, and *ubai*. *Biku* to *shamani* were classes for those who had finished

the initial ordination, and ubasoku and ubai were for lay followers. *Biku* and *bikuni* were monks fully qualified to teach their disciples, while *shami*, *shikishamana* and *shamuni* were semi-qualified monks.

	Lay follower	*Semi-qualified*	*Fully qualified*
Male	*ubasoku*	*shami*, *shamini*	*biku*
Female	*ubai*	*shikishamana*	*bikuni*

Those who wished to become monks became *shami* or *shamini* upon going through the initial ordination. *Shikishamana* is a two-year internship period for female monks before being promoted to *bikuni* to determine whether or not they were suited to the life of a monk and to ensure that they were not pregnant. At this ordination to become *shikishamana*, they pledged to observe the six precepts of not to kill, not to steal, not to have sexual relations, not to tell others that they have attained enlightenment, not to drink alcohol and not to eat after noon.

To become a *biku*, a *shami* had to pledge at the final ordination to observe 250 precepts, including the above-mentioned six precepts, before a group of monks who were well versed in the precepts. According to *Shibunritsu*, there should have been ten such monks present at an ordination. This final ordination was the most solemn because of the great number of precepts that one had to pledge. Later, the final ordination would come to mean the ordination for a *shami* (*shikishamana*) to be promoted to a *biku* (*bikuni*). The place where the ordination took place was called the *kaijō* or *kaidan* (stage).

For female monks, it was more difficult to be promoted to the highest rank. The number of precepts that a *shikishamana* had to pledge to observe to become a *bikuni* was 348. She had to pledge not to have sexual relations, not to steal, not to kill, not to tell others that she was enlightened, not to touch a man's body, not to be alone with a man, not to hide a *bikuni* who had committed a sin deserving banishment, and not to follow a *biku* who had committed a sin. Anyone who failed to observe even one of these eight precepts was expelled from the temple.

Official monks

Just as with government workers today, the number of official monks was fixed, and ten new official monks were employed every year, known as 'monks of annual ordination'. Additionally, at those times when extraordinary phenomena in heaven and earth occurred, 'emergency' monks were employed by the temple after going through a special extraordinary ordination ceremony in order to become monks to calm natural disasters by praying.

Around that time, people considered that unusual phenomena were caused by invisible devils or evil spirits, and that by monks reciting sūtras they could get rid of such devils or evil spirits and calm the phenomena. The state gave the meritorious monks the right to issue a certificate of having taken an initial ordination to monks that they had selected. 'Emergency' or what could be called 'extraordinary' official monks were those who had been selected by these monks, and the number of extraordinary official monks increased. Even so, the state tried to maintain a fixed number of official monks. The case of Ryōgen 良源 (912–985) will exemplify this.

Ryōgen, commonly called Gansan Daishi, was a venerable monk of Hieizan Enryakuji who was active in the tenth century. He became well known as a polemicist in the Religious Discussion in Ōwa held in 963. After he became the eighth chief monk of the Tendai sect, he restored and developed the temple facilities, reestablished its financial base, and trained Genshin 源信 (942–1017) and other monks.

In 923, at the age of twelve, Ryōgen entered the chamber of Nitto 日燈 (n.d.) at Hōto-in in the West Tower of Enryakuji, and received education under Risen 理仙 (n.d.). In 928, at the age of seventeen, he was supposed to go through the initial ordination, but his mentor Risen died just before the ceremony was due to take place. Nitto Shōnin, as the chief of the chamber, asked Funaki Yoshimi 船木良見 (n.d.), lord of Asake-gun in Ise province, one of the influential patrons of the temple, to look for a monk who would act as the mentor to whom Ryōgen should make pledges. Funaki Yoshimi asked Fujiwara Sadakata 藤原定方 (n.d.) whom he had adored as his master to recommend a proper monk. As a result, Ryōgen was given the initial ordination under Onkun 恩訓 (n.d.) of Yakushiji (Hossō-sect),

and had the final ordination at Enryakuji. At that time, the Hossō sect and the Tendai sect were in conflict, and it was normal practice that the ordination for the monks-to-be of the Hossō sect took place at Todaiji, and that of the Tendai sect at Enryakuji. Nonetheless, this irregular procedure took place. It came about because of the fixed number of official monks, with only the monk who had a meritorious right (Onkun, in this case) to issue the ordination certificate of an official monk being able, in fact, to offer mentorship to promote Ryōgen to the status of official monk. The fixed number of official monks was strictly observed at least until the end of the tenth century.

Colours of kesa *for official monks*

Finally, we need to consider the symbolic meaning of *kesa* used by official monks. As we have seen, monks were supposed to wear dull-coloured clothes. As official monks were a kind of civil servant, they had to observe the office service regulations, including the colours of their clothes. One of them is '*Sō-Ni Ryō*' (Ordinance regarding Monks and Nuns) which regulated the way monks behaved in ancient Japan. The colours for *kesa* regulated in this ordinance were all dull colours, such as slightly reddish grey-yellow (horse chestnut or grape), blue and azure (and the mixture of both), black and yellow. The violation of this regulation involved a punishment of ten days' hard labour. Compared to the previously mentioned *Shibunritsu*, the range of options was expanded with the addition of yellow.

According to ancient documents such as *Nihon Ryōiki* (completed circa 822), white clothes suggested secular people. As the world of official monks was increasingly secularized, and as the laws and regulations existed only for the sake of formality as time passed, the colours of clothes that official monks wore also changed, even though the regulations in '*Sō-Ni Ryō*' remained unchanged. In the Heian era (tenth century and afterwards), the colour of typical *kesa* worn by official monks was turning to white.

For example, a letter from Daianji in reply to an order from Kōfukuji, dated the fourteenth day of the seventh month of 1202, shows that the colour of *kesa* worn by the monks of Kōfukuji and

other temples in Nara changed to white in the Heian era. In *Mappō Tōmyō ki*, which was commissioned by Saichō at the end of the Heian era, there is a description stating: 'The colour of *kesa* shall be white in the latter days of Buddhism.' As such, the colour of typical clothes of official monks changed to white.

Paintings exist in which armed monks of Enryakuji and Kōfukuji are depicted with their heads and faces covered in white cloth. Later, as new Buddhist sects emerged in the Kamakura, black clothes were worn, while white clothes came to symbolize official monks.

This observation may be considered contentious. The point being that you may see official monks wearing red and yellow *kesa* in picture scrolls, in addition to white ones. Actually, various coloured *kesa* were used according to the rank and function of official monks. For example, an *igishi* – a monk who acts as the master of ceremonies, was supposed to wear a red *kesa*. What is important, however, is the typical colour. Unless we focus on what is typical, we may lose sight of the essential quality of things. In discussing mammals, it would be very misleading to take note only of the whale and, as a result, define a mammal as a large animal living in the sea.

Pledging the observance of the precepts

To become a fully qualified official monk, one is required to go through the final ordination following the initial ordination (pledging to observe the ten precepts). According to *Shibunritsu*, the final ordination is intended to promote *shami* (or *shikishamana*) to *biku* (*bikuni*). At the age of twenty, a *shami* (or *shikishamana*) was supposed to pledge the observance of the precepts at the place (or platform) of ordination before ten reverent monks, three of whom being the *kaiwajō* who presented the precepts, a *konmashi*, who conducted the ceremony, and a *kyōjushi* who taught the manners for living and training, with seven others being witnesses.

The state-regulated ordination to qualify as *biku* in Japan began with the ordination held on the specially constructed platform in front of the Hall of Buddha Birushana (Skt.: *Vairocana*) of Tōdaiji in the fourth month of 754 with the Ven. Jianzhen 鑑真

(J.: Ganjin; 688–763) together with his fellow monks invited from China. Invited by Japanese monks Yōei, Fushō and others, Jianzhen decided to come to Japan in 742, and after five attempts at a sea crossing, he finally arrived in Japan in 753. The hardship he experienced during this period is powerfully recorded in the novel *Tempyō-no-Iraka* by Inoue Yasushi 井上靖 (1907–91). I visited China in February 2000 and stayed there for four months. Even though the telephone system was well developed, and there were many Japanese restaurants, I found it difficult living in a foreign land with so many differences in language and customs, and I could imagine how difficult it was for Jianzhen to live in Japan. I felt I could share in some way of the hardship Jianzhen experienced when he went to Japan with such enthusiasm to introduce the ordination system.

It is commonly accepted that Yōei 栄叡 (d.749), Fushō 普照 (n.d.) and others were ordered to persuade Jianzhen to go to Japan to conduct the ordination, because despite the increased number of monks, there were many who did not know the precepts and there were even those who broke them. It did not mean, however, that prior to Jianzhen's arrival no ordination took place nor that there were many monks who were not observing the precepts even after his arrival. Thus, my view on the reason for inviting Jianzhen and his fellow monks is as follows.

The ordinations were conducted before his arrival, but they were held in an irregular manner, such as pledging to observe the precepts before only one mentor monk, instead of ten monks. Such irregular ordinations were not deemed to be legitimate by the Chinese Buddhist community, and it is fairly clear that the number of *biku* going to China for further training increased. However, as their ordinations were not regarded as legitimate in China, they might have been treated as *shami*. In order to have Japanese monks recognized as fully qualified monks in East Asia, which for Japan in those days meant the 'whole world', it was essential to introduce the ordination system authorized in China, the then leader of East Asia, whereby *biku*-to-be should pledge to observe the precepts provided for in *Shibunritsu* in the presence of the three mentoring monks and seven witnessing monks. Going through such an ordination procedure is similar to obtaining an academic degree today; and so the qualification

obtained in Japan before the arrival of Jianzhen was not widely recognized. This was the main reason for inviting at least ten *biku* from China. Having Jianzhen in Japan, the state-regulated *biku*-qualifying system, also authorized by China, was established.

In the first month of 761, ordination platforms were set up both in Kanzeonji in Chikuzen province (present-day Fukuoka) and Yakushiji in Shimotsuke province (present-day Tochigi). With these, three state-sponsored platforms were established. Kanzeonji and Yakushiji were built in order to accommodate those who wished to become regional monks. The ordinations were conducted in the presence of three precept monks and two witnessing monks. The ordinations in these temples were legitimate but the style was informal compared with the ordination at Tōdaiji conducted in the presence of ten monks. The official reason for the then smaller number of attending monks was that it was difficult to mobilize ten eligible monks for the ceremony. As time passed, there should have been sufficient numbers of monks both in the Kyūshū and Kantō regions, but the number of attending monks was never increased. The inference is that the monks who qualified at Kanzeonji and Yakushiji were looked down upon, and accordingly were not invited to religious meetings held in the capital city. It should also be noted that females were excluded from the ordinations held on these state-authorized platforms.

Ordinations at Enryakuji

As a result of the great efforts by Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and his disciple Kōjō 光定 (779–858), the state-regulated ordination platform was established at Enryakuji in Ōmi province (present-day, Shiga) at the beginning of the ninth century. This was an epoch-making development in the history of Buddhism. Saichō is called 'Great teacher who transmitted the teachings' of the Tendai sect (Chinese: Tiantai sect) developed by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) based at Mt Tiantai in China. But this title was given after his death.

Saichō was born in 767 in Furuichi-gō, Shiga-gun in Ōmi province (present-day Shiga). His father was Mitsuno Obito Momoe 三津首百枝, and his family descended from a Korean

immigrant. At the age of twelve, Saichō became a disciple of Gyōhyō 行表 (724–797) at Ōmi provincial temple (Kokubunji), and at the age of fifteen, he went through the initial ordination at the temple and was given the clerical name Saichō. In 785, he completed the final ordination at the ordination platform in Tōdaiji, and in the same year, he went up to Mt Hiei (mountain stretching from Kyoto and Ōtsu city in Shiga) to build a hermitage so that he could concentrate on training as a Buddhist monk. The foundation for Hiei Enryakuji was established here. Of course, he may also have wanted to achieve a superior spiritual status through superhuman ascetic practices in the depths of Mt Hiei, long considered to be a holy area.

His career blossomed as the capital city was transferred from Nara to Kyoto in 794. The Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (737–806) took note of Saichō's ascetic practices in Mt Hiei, and appointed him to be one of the ten venerable monks to serve at court when Saichō was thirty-one years old. In 802, he lectured on the three major textbooks of the Tendai sect (*Hokke Gengi*, *Hokke Mongu* and *Maka-shikan*) at Mt Takao in Yamashiro (Kyoto). He was ordered to visit China for further study in 804, which proved to be a life-changing event. Saichō stayed for eight months or so, and returned to Japan after having learned *En* (the whole Tiantai Buddhist Doctrine), Esoteric Buddhism, Zen and Kai from his mentor.

Furthermore, in the first month of 806, he prayed for the healing of the Emperor Kanmu who became sick, and the beneficial effect of his intervention was widely recognized. By way of a token in recognition of his healing powers, he was given the authority to grant two monks the status of official monks annually. As noted above, official monks were employed annually in order to pray for the state. The system began in 696 whereby a certain number of monks were designated as official monks in order to recite the *Konkōmyō* sutra at the beginning of each year in order to drive away disasters and to invite happiness for the year ahead. The fixed number of official monks each year was ten throughout the Nara period; however, from the first month of 806, the number was increased to twelve, and the number from different sects was determined to be two from the Kegon sect, two from the Tendai sect, two from the Ritsu sect, three from the

Sanron sect and three from the Hossō sect. The Tendai sect succeeded in obtaining two seats in the official monk community.

However, the Emperor Kanmu died in the third month of 806, and Saichō lost his greatest patron. At the same time, he became estranged from Kukai as their relationship deteriorated. Later in 816, he set out on a tour of the eastern part of Japan, and conversed with Tokuitsu of the Hossō sect who was in Enichiji in Aizu, Fukushima, to establish the doctrine of the Tendai sect. This discussion is called San-Ichi Gonjitsu, meaning Debate over Three Doctrines (Vehicles) or One Doctrine (Vehicle), and provided an opportunity to clarify the differences in doctrines between the Tendai and Hossō sects. Saichō's basic ideas were expressed in brief together with his intention to establish ordination under Mahayana Buddhism.

The Hossō sect took a position that there were three levels of teachings of the Buddha to be taught according to the level of ability of people receiving teachings. They were Shōmon-jō (listen to the Buddha teachings to attain one's own enlightenment), Engaku-jō (attain enlightenment of one's own not in accordance with the Buddha's teachings) and Bosatsu-jō (attain enlightenment not only for oneself but for the salvation of others). Saichō's position was that these three levels of teachings are provisional teachings of the ultimate truth that the Buddha had devised to reach people at different levels of understanding.

Further, the Hossō sect explained that people had five different abilities, called the theory of five different qualities. Based on this theory, the sect criticized the theory that everyone had the ability to attain enlightenment and become a Buddha ('Everyone has the Buddha-nature'). The five qualities are Shōmon-jōshō (people who are destined to become enlightened upon listening to the Buddha's teachings), Engaku-jōshō (people who are destined to attain enlightenment in their own way without depending on the Buddha's teachings), Bosatsu-jōshō (people who preach that anyone can attain enlightenment, and who try not only to attain enlightenment but also aim for the salvation of others), Fu-jōshō (people who have not identified which quality they have), and Mu-shu shō (people who are destined to become none of the other four).

Saichō insisted on the position that 'everyone has the Buddha-

nature'. He criticized the Hossō sect and other sects as being Hinayana Buddhism, whose teachings advocate that only those who have gone through training in cloistered life can attain enlightenment. He insisted that his position was Mahayana Buddhism.

Another important change introduced by Saichō was that he began to attempt to establish a new ordination style (Enryakuji ordination) in 818, criticizing the ordination at Tōdaiji that he himself had taken earlier, as belonging to Hinayana Buddhism. At the Enryakuji ordination, he ordered a fully qualified monk-to-be to pledge to observe the Ten Essential Precepts and Forty-eight Supplementary Precepts provided in the *Bonmōkyō* sutra that a bosatsu (Skt.: bodhisattva, a Buddhist saint) was supposed to observe. The Enryakuji ordination was authorized as an official ordination by the emperor after Saichō's death.

Buddhism, therefore, can be largely categorized into Hinayana Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism. The former aims only for personal enlightenment while the latter aims not only for personal enlightenment but also the salvation of others. The monk who belongs to the former is called a 'Shōmon monk', and the one who belongs to the latter is called a 'Bosatsu monk'. Saichō defined Enryakuji to be a temple of Mahayana Buddhism and considered all the monks living there to be Bosatsu monks.

At Tōdaiji and other temples, ordinands had to pledge the observance of 250 precepts as provided in the *Shibunritsu,* which is the collection of precepts of Hinayana Buddhism; accordingly, Saichō defined the ordination at these temples as being Hinayana Buddhist ordination. He insisted that the official monks at Enryakuji should pledge the observance of Mahayana Buddhist precepts as provided in volume two of the *Bonmōkyō* sutra. Thus, at Enryakuji, the ordination was conducted where ordinands pledged the observance of Bosatsu precepts in the *Bonmōkyō* sutra.

The emperor's authorization was granted in the sixth month of 822 to establish the ordination at Enryakuji. On the fourteenth day of the fourth month of 823 the first ordination was conducted under Gishin 義真 (781–833) as the head monk. In 828, the building specifically assigned for ordinations was completed, and ordinations came to be held here whereby ordi-

nands became fully qualified monks upon pledging to observe the Ten Essential and Forty-eight Supplementary Precepts under the *Bonmōkyō* sutra. Thus, Enryakuji became the fourth temple to conduct state-regulated ordination for official monks. The ordination system at this temple continued up to the Edo period though it came to be conducted only for the sake of formality. There are many common precepts in both *Shibunritsu* and the Ten Essential and the Forty-eight Supplementary Precepts, but some are specific to the latter, such as the prohibition of the sale of alcohol and the eating of meat. In particular, the prohibition against eating meat is considered as the ideological background for vegetarian cooking.

The greatest feature of the precepts in the *Bonmōkyō* sutra is that they are precepts that anyone, be it a monk or lay follower, who wants to be a Bosatsu must observe. As both lay followers and monks were supposed to observe the same precepts, other sects in Japan considered that the precepts in the *Bonmyō-kyō* sutra were not appropriate for fully qualified monks. The Buddhist communities in Korea and China were also of the same view. In China, as only the ordination brought from China by Jianzhen was authorized, monks from Enryakuji were treated as *shami* in China. Even so, as Enryakuji temple was gaining greater strength in Japan, when monks from the went to China, they carried a certificate of ordination issued by Tōdaiji.[4] In other words, the state allowed Enryakuji monks to carry an invalid certificate[5] with them to visit China.

Along with the establishment of the ordination under Mahayana Buddhism, Saichō wrote texts to educate and train his students, such as *Sange gakushōshiki* 山家学生式 including *Rokujōshiki* 六条式.[6] In this book, he demanded that his students become the nation's valuable assets that would light one thousand miles and protect one corner. (Traditionally, this statement has been read to mean, 'Light a corner', but recent research has proven that it has long been misread.) It is clear that Saichō attempted to educate official monks who would become national treasures to protect the state.

Functions of ordination

In addition to producing official monks, the ordination at the state-regulated ordination temples had another important function, namely, to determine the correct status of monks in the hierarchy. The length of time that had passed after going through an ordination (called '*kairō*' 戒臈) was more important than a monk's age in the arrangement of order in the monk community, such as seat arrangements, the assignment of monk offices and monk ranks, and the application of the salary scale.

To understand how much monks were concerned about their orders, an episode of Jitsusei 実誓 (972–?) and Myōson 明尊 971–?), both of whom were ordained at Enryakuji, provides a good example. Enryakuji conducted ordinations twice a year in medieval times, once from the eighth to the tenth day of the fourth month, and another from the eighth to the tenth day of the eleventh month. There was a morning session and an evening session each day. Those who were ordained in the morning session were ranked higher than those who were ordained in the evening session.

According to the report on the seventh day of the fifth month of 1018 in *Shōyū-ki* 小右記, a lecture meeting on the *Hokke* sutra was held, sponsored by Fujiwara Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028). At that meeting, Jitsusei and Myōson who were appointed as *Risshi* (3rd rank monk) on the same day of the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month of 1017, competed for an upper seat. Before the ordination, Myōson (aged forty-seven) sat on an upper level because he was one year older than Jitsusei (aged forty-six). Myōson was about to take an upper seat as usual at the lecture meeting, when Jitsusei challenged him. The organizer enquired at Enryakuji which one should take an upper seat, and found that Jitsusei was promoted in a morning session and Myōson in an evening session. When this was discovered, Myōson was already sitting on an upper seat. Therefore, they had to change seats before the large audience. As is clear from this episode, the position of one's seat was very important for a monk, and the ordination system played an important role in clarifying the hierarchical order of monks. The world of official monks, in fact, was like a 'secular world', which is explained in Chapter 3.

Incidentally, Myōson was a grandchild of Onono Tofu, a calligrapher in the mid-Heian period who served three emperors.

Because of this role, the ordinations continued at Tōdaiji, Kanzeonji and Enryakuji until the mid-fourteenth century, despite the conventional view that ordination ceased in the tenth century. It is obvious that Shimotsuke Yakushiji stopped conducting ordinations in the eleventh century – perhaps because candidates were attracted to Enryakuji.

Increase in numbers of immoral monks

Ordination was functioning in medieval Japan, but it did not always mean that official monks were observing the precepts that they had pledged. As the number of official monks increased, the number of immoral monks, or those who broke the precepts, also increased. A typical example of breaking the precept of not killing others was the presence of soldier-monks at Enryakuji and Kōfukuji. They were armed and took part in battles. Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582), a warlord, attacked and burned Enryakuji in the ninth month of 1571 with the intention of suppressing the religious authority of the temple, and at the same time he wanted to inflict a crushing defeat on the troop of monk soldiers.

As an example of breaking the precept of not having sexual relations, the term '*shin-deshi* 真弟子 (son monk)' can be cited as a typical case. This term means a monk's son who has become a disciple of the monk. The very fact of having a son showed that the monk had broken the precept. The Jōson episode 成尊 (n.d.) illustrates the example of '*shin-deshi*':

> Rev. Jōson-sōzu (2nd rank) is said to be the son monk of Ven. Ninkai-sōjō (1st rank). A woman committed adultery with Ninkai-sōjō and conceived and delivered a baby boy. In fear of disclosure of the relationship with Ninkai, the mother let the infant drink mercury. Even if the boy survived, he would not be able to have sexual intercourse. As a result, Rev. Jōson did not have sexual relations either with a male or female.

This episode is included in *Kojidan* 古事談,[7] a Buddhist narrative compiled by Minamoto Akikane 源顕兼 (1160–1215) from

1212 to 1215. The behaviour of the mother who gave mercury to the infant is totally unacceptable, but the father monk was guilty of breaking the precept. As Ninkai 仁海[8] (951–1046) was at the highest rank of official monk, we can easily imagine that non-observance of the precepts was widespread among official monks.

Another notable observation in the episode is 'Jōson did not have sexual relations either with a male or female'. It says that Jōson, who was made to be impotent by drinking mercury, did not have sexual relations with a 'male'. To our surprise, we can deduce from this that homosexual relationships were common among the monk community.

Kūkai and esoteric Buddhism

Another important figure in the Heian period parallel to Saichō is Kūkai (774–835). Kūkai was born in Tado-gun in Sanuki province (present-day Zentsuji city, Kagawa). His father was Saeki-no-Atai-tagimi 佐伯直田公 (n.d.) and mother Ato 阿刀 (n.d.). At the age of fifteen, Kūkai began his study under his mother's brother, and entered a school in the capital city Kyōto to study Confucianism and other subjects. It is said that he happened to meet a monk, which inspired him to become a Buddhist monk. He seemed to have undergone ascetic training in Otakidake (Tokushima) and Murotozaki (Kōchi) in Shikoku island. At the age of twenty-four, he wrote his first book *Sango shiiki*[9] (Principles of the Three Teachings). But it is considered that he underwent the ordination at Tōdaiji in 803 to become an official monk, a year before he sailed to Tang China.

In 804, Kūkai went to Chang'an, the capital city of China and studied the latest esoteric Buddhism under Huiguno 恵果 (746–805) at Qing Long si 青龍寺 temple, and returned to Japan in 806. He transmitted and developed esoteric Buddhism in Japan based on the *Mahavairocana* sutra (or 大日経), the principal sutra of esoteric Buddhism, and the *Diamond-peak* sutra (金剛頂経). The most notable things about Kūkai are his advocacy of *sokushin jōbutsu* (Attaining Enlightenment in This Very Body), and esoteric Buddhism as being the most excellent of all Buddhist teachings. Buddhism that had been taught before him

required many years of hard training before one could attain enlightenment. Therefore, his teaching that a person could attain enlightenment as he is gained popularity among the public. Further, the mystic and incantatory qualities of esoteric Buddhism attracted people's interest, and it exerted great influence on the Tendai and other sects, such as the adaptation of esoteric rituals into their own rituals.

Saichō and Kūkai brought a fresh wind of change to ancient Buddhism. Saichō established Buddhist Research Groups called Tendaishū and Kūkai established Shingonshū among the official monk community. What deserves special attention are the key teachings 'There is only one true teaching of the Buddha through which people can attain enlightenment', 'Everyone has the Buddha-nature', and 'Attaining enlightenment in this very existence' which served as the foundation for new Buddhist sects that emerged during the Kamakura era.

From among Saichō's disciples, En-nin 円仁 (794–864), Enchin 円珍 (814–891) and An-nen 安然 (841?–895?) promoted the esoteric teachings of the Tendaishū sect (*dai-mitsu* 台密). An extension of An-nen's thought was the philosophy called *tendai hongaku shisō* which developed later.

The Shingon sect (*tō-mitsu* 東密) established by Kūkai achieved a high degree of perfection, and after Kūkai's death, the sophistication of esoteric rituals progressed. However, in philosophical terms, the sect remained inactive, and only Kakuban 覚鑁 (1095–1143) was notable.

The world of tendai hongaku shisō

The philosophy of *tendai hongaku shisō* is to affirm and accept one's reality as it is. This philosophy was developed by the Tendai sect towards the end of the Heian period up to the beginning of the Kamakura period (twelfth to thirteenth centuries).

In medieval times, the secrets of the teachings of the Tendai sect were handed down to disciples by word of mouth. In the oral instruction, the terms *shigaku* 始覚 (incipient enlightenment) and *hongaku* 本覚 (enlightenment already in place in consciousness) were used together. *Shigaku* is a general Buddhist position to encourage people to train themselves to get rid of worldly desires

in order to attain enlightenment. *Hongaku* is a position that advocates that enlightenment is already realized in people's deepest consciousness, and that, therefore, they do not need extra training.

The philosophy of the Tendai sect in medieval times that admits the phenomenal world to be absolute with *hongaku* as the key concept is called *tendai hongaku shisō*. As many of the founders of new Buddhist sects in the Kamakura period were those who had studied at Enryakuji, it is considered that they developed their own Buddhist philosophies inspired by the Tendai philosophy. The Tendai philosophy also prepared the ground for the concepts of *shugendō*, or mountaineering asceticism, a combination of physical training through mountaineering and mental training, which we will look at later on.

Shintō-Buddhism syncretism

One of the characteristics of Japanese Buddhism before the Meiji Restoration (1868) is its syncretization with Shintōism, or the fusion of Buddhism and Japanese gods. The conflict between two families for and against the introduction of Buddhism was touched upon in the section on the Official Introduction of Buddhism. With the arrival of Buddhism, a conflict with the traditional belief in deities developed, and it became a matter of grave concern how to explain and how to coordinate the relationship between the two religions.

Buddhism not only had a magnificent structure but also the experience of having overcome conflicts with traditional beliefs in China and Korea and had succeeded in becoming indigenous in these places. Finally, Buddhism succeeded in amalgamating with the Japanese deities. Originally, it was believed that the Buddha would save suffering deities. Later, it was said that deities were the incarnations of the Buddha appearing as guardian figures for the salvation of the people. This concept is called *honchi-suijaku-setsu* (the Buddha appearing in a god incarnate). For example, the Emperor Ōjin (n.d.), believed to be the incarnation of *Amida-nyorai* (Skt.: *Amitabha Tathagata*), is the deity enshrined at Tsurugaoka Hachiman shrine in Kamakura.

As a result of Shintō-Buddhist syncretism, there was a shrine

within the compound of Enryakuji enshrining the deity of Hie as its tutelary deity until the Meiji Restoration. It was common for both Buddhist monks and Shintō priests to live on the same premises. However, this *honchi-suijaku-setsu* placed the Buddha over indigenous deities, and in reality, the theory was applied in the relationship whereby Buddhist monks held control over Shintō priests. Later, Watarai Ieyuki 度会家行 (d.1351) and other Shintō priests challenged this relationship and proposed the opposing concept that deities were the sources and Buddha to be an incarnate, which is called *shinhon-butsujaku-setsu* (or anti-*honchi-suijaku-setsu)*.

Founder of Shugendō, mountain-based asceticism: En-no Ozunu

Shugendō is a kind of Buddhism syncretized with Shintōism that developed uniquely in Japan. It was popular even among common people in the Edo era, but in the Meiji era, its existence was prohibited as a result of government policy to separate Buddhism from Shintoism. Nevertheless, its tradition still remains, and as a matter of fact, new religions such as Konkō-kyō and Tenri-kyō are partially based on Shugendō. The aim of Shugendō is to gain magical powers for the salvation of monks as well as others through undergoing superhuman ascetic training (*zudagyō*, that is, to get rid of worldly desires) deep in the mountains, which are considered to be the realm of the deceased, in other words the holy realm, by folk religions.

It is not clear when the term *shugendō* began to be used, but the founder is said to be En-no Ozunu 役小角 (n.d.), or En-no Gyōja. According to *Shoku Nihon-gi* (history of the earlier half of the Heian era), he was a magician living in Mt Katsuragi in Yamato province (present-day Nara) at the end of the seventh century. He manipulated a destructive deity, and when the deity did not obey him, he bound the deity with a spell. Jealous of his ability, his follower Karakuni-no Hirotari made an unfounded accusation against him, and as a result, En-no Ozunu was exiled to Izu Island.

En-no Ozunu did not seem to be related with Buddhism from the above-mentioned source, but according to *Nihon Ryōiki* (a narrative completed around 822), he was born into the family of

Kamono Enokimi in Kazurakinokami-gun, Yamato province, became a believer in the Buddha, the Buddha's teachings and monks, then became *ubasoku* (lay follower), underwent training in the mountains, and gained the magical power of Kujaku-ō ('a kind of peacock'). However, he was exiled to Izu Island because of an unfounded accusation by Hitokoto-nushi-no-kami, and, in 701, he was released from there and returned to the neighbourhood of the capital city, from where he flew to heaven as a legendary wizard. At the beginning of the Heian era, he was considered to be a Buddhist, and at the beginning of the Kamakura era, he was considered to be the founder of Shugendō.

Underlying this was a trend among Buddhist monks to undertake mountain-based ascetic training in order to obtain magical powers. Well-known among such monks are Sō-ō 相応 (831–918) of the Tendai sect, who is said to have explored Katsuragawa and initiated *kaihō-gyō* training to continue pilgrimages visiting the West Tower, East Tower and Yokokawa Towers for a certain number of days, and Shōbo of the Shingon sect (832–909) who is known as the founder of Daigoji. Training places were developed on designated 'holy mountains' at different localities. From the middle to the end of the Heian era, as Yoshino (Nara) and Kumano (Wakayama) became places for worship for the emperors and aristocrats, Mt Ōmine (located between the two regions) was established as a training place for Shugendō.

Difference between ōjō *and* jōbutsu

In the explanation about Kūkai, the question of *jōbutsu* was considered. At this point, *ōjō* and *jōbutsu* need to be explained. Today, both tend to be considered as 'peaceful death', but they were different in origin. *Jōbutsu* means that a person desiring to become enlightened (the Buddhist term for such a person is *bosatsu*) undergoes training and attains enlightenment. *Ōjō* means that a person goes to be reborn in the Western Paradise of the Pure Land of Amitābha and others, and goes through training to be enlightened. In other words, *ōjō* means to go to the Pure Land which is the ideal place to train oneself to attain enlightenment.

In Buddhism, there are many Buddhist divinities, hence, there are many lands of respective divinities. Therefore, there should

have been a number of destinations, or heavens, for *ōjō*. In ancient Japan, however, people were directed to the Western Paradise of the Pure Land of Amitābha or the Tusita of Maitreya-bodhisattva.

In medieval times, belief in Amitābha became popular, and *ōjō* came to mean to enter into the Western Paradise of the Pure Land. Further, Shinran of the Jōdo Shin sect came to advocate that *ōjō* and *jōbutsu* were identical. As the followers of the Jōdo Shin sect have increased and are now the majority, the difference between these two terms may have reached the point where they are indistinguishable.

Amitābha Saint Kūya

In the Nara and Heian periods, monks were basically official monks. They were strictly forbidden from evangelizing among the public in order to avoid any impurity in others. Even so, there were some monks who tried to propagate Buddhism. One of the more famous among them is Kūya 空也 (903–972). It is considered that his evangelical activities triggered the spread of reciting *nembutsu* (*namu amida butsu*, meaning I entrust myself to the Buddha Amida) as a practice for *ōjō*. It should be noted that Kūya did not only recite *nembutsu* but also believed in the *Hokekyō sutra*.

Kūya was also called Kōya. Some sources suggest that he was a son of the Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885–930) or a son of the crown prince of the Emperor Nin-myō 仁明天皇 (810–850) but no accurate record exists. He was born in 903 and travelled across the country from his youth, and constructed roads and bridges over rivers. Whenever he found corpses abandoned in the fields, he collected them, poured oil over them and burnt them while praying for their souls and reciting the name of Amitābha Buddha.

In his twenties, he entered a provincial temple (Kokubunji) in Owari province (present-day Aichi), had his head shaved and called himself Kūya. He studied the complete collection of Buddhist scriptures at Mineai temple in Ibo-gun, Harima province (present-day Hyōgo), and underwent a seven-day no-movement, no-sleep ascetic discipline in front of the bodhisattva

Kannon image while abstaining from eating grain, as well as burning incense on his upper arm, in an effort to meet Kannon at Yushima along the border between Awa (present-day Tokushima) and Tosa (present-day Kōchi) provinces. In addition, he travelled to the northeastern part of Japan carrying the Buddha image and the *Hokekyō sutra*, together with books explaining the Buddha's teachings, and preached the sutra while blowing a trumpet shell.

He then went to Kyoto in 938, and hid himself among ordinary people living as a mendicant monk. When he prayed at memorial services and received alms, he gave them to the poor and the sick. Hence, he was called '*ichihijiri* 市聖' or '*Ichishōnin* 市聖人', meaning a saint in the market-place. As he was always reciting '*namu amida butsu*', he was also called the 'Amida saint'. He walked round in Kyoto city, and dug a well where there was no water source. He erected a stupa in front of the prison in Kyoto in 938 for the salvation of prisoners. In appreciation of his activities, he was promoted to Enryakuji on Mt Hiei, and underwent ordination by the chief monk. Kūya had been *shami* (semi-qualified monk) since he became a monk at a provincial temple, and with this ordination, he became a fully qualified official monk, and received a new Buddhist name Kōshō 光勝.

In 951, he raised funds asking for donations among all the ranks and classes, constructed the principal 3-metre tall, golden Kannon Image, three 1.8-metre tall images of Brahman, Sakra Devenam Indra and the Four Devas to be placed in Saikōji 西光寺 (present-day, Rokuharamitsuji 六波羅蜜寺, Kyoto). Concurrently, he copied the 600 volumes of the Prajna-paramita sutra, a project he had begun in 950 and completed in 963. He is also known for having sculpted images and copied the sutra.

Notes

1 H. Byron Earhart, *Religion in the Japanese Experience* (1)37.

2 However, some recent research has questioned the very existence of Prince Shōtoku, suggesting that he was an idealized fabrication. As documentary resources of ancient Japan are very limited, there are few incidents and episodes of which we can be certain. The same is true regarding figures such as Jesus Christ. It is only the legends collected in the Gospels and handed down to early churches that tell about Jesus Christ; consequently, some research papers

doubting his existence have been published. But here, we assume that Shōtoku actually existed. One scholar proposed a new theory that Shōtoku Taishi did not exist at that time and what he was thought to have done, such as the compiling of the Three Sūtra Explanatory Books for *Hokekyō* (*Lotus Sūtra*), *Yuimagyō* (*Vimalakirti-nirdesa-sūtra*) and *Shōmangyō*, is only a legend. See *Shōtoku Taishi no Shinjitsu*, Seiichi Ōyama (ed.) (Tokyo: Heibonsya, 2003). Nevertheless, we can certainly say that the Shōtoku of legend was immeasurably influential throughout Japanese history and that he is still popular among people today. In recent times, his portrait was even printed on Japanese bank notes.

[3] There are even some recent studies that insist that the three sūtra commentaries were brought to Japan by one of the envoys to Sui China but that it was mistakenly thought that Shōtoku was the author of these books. The ground for such observations is that the source book for the explanatory book for *Shōmangyō Sūtra* was found among the enormous quantity of rolled books in Cave No. 17 in Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, China. Based on this finding, the explanatory books for the other two sūtras are most likely to have been written in China.

[4] See Kenji Matsuo, *Shinpan Kamakura Shinbukkyō no Seiritsu* 新版鎌倉新仏教の成立 (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō bunkan, 1998), 162, 163.

[5] See Myōzen Kaichō 明全戒牒 dated 1199, *Eiheiji monjyo Dainihon Shiryō* Vol. 5–1, 853.

[6] *Sange gakushōshiki* consists of three books: *Rokujōshiki, Hachijōshiki, and Shijōshiki*. In these books, Saichō dealt with how to educate his students and the importance of founding Enryakuji Mahayana kaidan. Saichō submitted them to the imperial court and tried to have Enryakuji kaidan recognized as one of state regulated kaidans such as Tōdaiji, Kanzeonji and Yakushiji kaidan.

[7] A collection of narratives edited and written by Akikane Minamoto. Kojidan facile 3,70.

[8] Ninkai is a founder of the Ono School of the Shingon Sect. He became the bettō 別当 (abbot) at Tōdaiji and Tōji. For more on Ninkai, see the eponymous book *Ninkai*, edited by Ninkai Sōjō (Kyōto: Daihonzan Zuishiin, 2005).

[9] *Sangō shiiki* is a drama in which he compared the three principles he had already mastered, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, to demonstrate the supremacy of Buddhism. It was his final declaration of turning to Buddhism.

CHAPTER 3

OFFICIAL AND RECLUSIVE MONKS



THIS CHAPTER WILL consider the three particular features of medieval Japan from a religious point of view. These are: the medieval period of religious fund-raising, defilement and the apostate Middle Ages. I then introduce one of the characteristic research methods I employ, which is the use of legends, concluding with a brief examination of the history of research to date into medieval Japanese Buddhism.

Medieval period of religious fund-raising

'Odonma, kanjin, kanjin, an hito tachi ya yoka shi, yoka shi, yoka obi, yoka kimon.' I find this lullaby from Itsuki (Kumamoto prefecture) especially heart-warming, as I lived in Kumamoto during my childhood. However, when I was young, I found its lyrics, which are in the local dialect, difficult to understand. I did not even remotely understand the meaning of the repeated words of the song '*kanjin*, *kanjin*'. Yet, the song went straight to my child's heart, and I sang it often. When growing up, I felt ashamed to ask people about its meaning, and I just kept on humming it to myself. I was particularly touched by its sadness and deep pathos, and the wish to understand this song some day never left my mind. However, as luck would have it, or, more accurately, should I say thanks to my studies, I was able to do research into religious fund-raising, and through this, finally came to understand the meaning of this song.

Let me explain. '*kanjin*' refers to religious fund-raising. Originally, it was a Buddhist term with the basic meaning of encouraging people to enter the path of Buddhism and to accu-

mulate good deeds of charity and virtue. Yet, from the end of the Heian period (794–1180), it took on the meaning of collecting donations of money and rice for the construction and repair of temple buildings and Buddhist images. Those who occupied themselves with this religious fund-raising, were called '*kanjin* saints' (*kanjin hijiri*). Rather than being learned monks, these people were priests who focused on practice rather than study, or were laymen who dressed like priests.[1] Thus, *kanjin* lost its religious meaning, but the connotation of begging for alms, such as money and food, for daily life remained. And so I discovered that the lyrics of the lullaby from Itsuki mean: 'I am a beggar. But those people are rich and have nice sashes and fine kimono.' It is said that the children of poor tenants sung this lullaby bemoaning their sorrowful lot in life while nursing the infants of their landlords.

In the Middle Ages (which I consider here as lasting from the end of the twelfth century until the end of the sixteenth century), religious fund-raising was practised at various places in Japan to such an extent that we can call the period 'the era of religious fund-raising'. The *kanjin* saints travelled through the provinces with their books promoting the aims of donation (*kanjinchō* 勧進帳), and gathered contributions by recounting stories about the miraculous origins (*engi* 縁起) of temples, or by performing publicly at the foot of bridges and in front of temple gates. In a famous theatrical piece called *Kanjinchō*, the character Benkei 弁慶 (Musashibo Benkei, ?–1189) rescues his lord Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159–89) at Ataka-no-seki (Ishikawa prefecture), thereby highlighting the fact that *kanjin* saints travelling through the country were a common sight.

I began my research into religious fund-raising because I consider it to be one of the keys to understanding the particular features of medieval Japanese Buddhism – the so-called Kamakura New Buddhism. I think that it provides important material for an understanding of the character of that age, for the special characteristics of the Middle Ages are embodied in the organization of religious fund-raising, as well as in the social background that made *kanjin* possible. To give an example of temple fund-raising, Buddhist institutions prior to the medieval period had been either official bodies that were constructed and repaired

under the jurisdiction of the state, or clan-temples controlled by certain families. Except for the case of the Great Buddha at Tōdaiji that was built in the middle of the eighth century, gathering donations from strangers for the erection and maintenance of temples was not that widely practised before the latter part of the twelfth century.

There are many cultural properties from medieval Japan that were built as a result of religious fund-raising – notably, the Hall for the Great Buddha in Nara and the Great Buddha in Kamakura. Furthermore, myriad slips of paper have been found inside medieval Buddhist images which list the names of the otherwise unidentified individuals who made donations for their construction – in other words, those who had cooperated with their *kanjin*.

For example, a standing Amitābha statue from the early Kamakura period, which is the principle image at the Kōzenji 興善寺 of the Jōdo sect in Nara, contains a list of nenbutsu believers from Hōnen's order and includes 1,548 names.[2] Along with this phenomenon of the popularization of religious fund-raising, it appears that the supporters of the temples shifted from the state and the clans to 'individuals'. Advances in communication and transportation made the journeys of the *kanjin* saints possible. Moreover, the existence of great numbers of people who contributed to the *kanjin* in medieval Japan, and the development of urbanized areas, are significant factors impacting on this phenomenon.

Religious fund-raising played yet another important role: it gave rise to public entertainment and the performing arts of the Middle Ages. In order to attract donors for religious fund-raising, the *kanjin* saints performed and told stories from oral literature at places where people congregated, such as at the approaches to bridges or in front of temple gates. In turn, this gave birth to the literary works of *Nō* 能, *Kyōgen* 狂言 and the preaching of ballads such as Sanshōdayu and the Taiheiki, which continue to move people whenever they are performed today.

The word 'individual' (*koji*n 個人) is a key concept in this book as well as in my general theory of Japanese religious history. Unless otherwise indicated, the word should be thought of as distinct from the modern philosophical meaning of 'individual',

which is more relevant to the 'era of the second type of personal religions'. (See Chapter 12.)

The term 'individual', as used in this book, has three implications. First and foremost, the concept of the individual is rooted in the rise of the cities in medieval Japan. Many who left their rural homes and came to live in urban areas were forced to adopt radically different life-styles, and were often faced for the first time with people who were not part of the community of their birthplace. The resulting anomie compelled the city-dwellers to search for a sense of community from alternative sources. One of the most important of these was religion, especially the new religions which spoke to both individual problems and the needs of the community.

Second, 'individual' implies a more personal relationship with the deity for the average believer. Although Shingon practice, for example, involves very individualized 'interpenetration' with a deity, the number of people who had direct access to its ritual power was severely limited. On the other hand, at least in theory, the orders of Kamakura New Buddhism offered direct access to various deities (especially Amitābha or Śākyamuni) that were thought to be able to save individuals, rather than generalized notions of state or community.

Third, 'Kamakura New Buddhism' as defined here, was successful principally because it dealt with the individual much more systematically than other schools, and thus was more responsive to the needs of its supporters. Nowadays, 'individual' implies the sense of self generated by someone who is removed from their normal realm of community experience and who thus seeks the salvation that is offered on an individual basis by the 'new religions.' Consequently, it is one of the objectives of this book to try and reconsider the questions surrounding the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period (1185–1333) from the perspective of religious fund-raising.

The defiled Middle Ages – without fear of defilement

What is astonishing, when examining sources from the ancient and the medieval periods, is the difference in general perception towards defilement and the intensity of aversion towards it.

Through the study of a variety f sources from those days, it appears that matters which today we do not regard as dirty or unclean, were taken to be impure and were the objects of aversion and avoidance. For example, women were thought to be impure. According to such regulations as the *Engishiki*, menstruating or pregnant women were thought to be defiled,[3] but, even outside these contexts when women were barred from temple precincts, women themselves were avoided because they were considered to be impure. Areas which were considered sacred and pure, such as the sanctuaries of temples, were especially forbidden to women; and if women did enter them, the sanctum could be torn down and rebuilt.[4] Though the theory exists that this view of defilement originated from Shintō, the Buddhist priests at that time were closely related to the emperor, who was required to remain ritually pure. Because the clergy lived in temples where buddhas and kami resided together under the system of the 'combination of buddhas and kami (*shinbutsu shūgō*)', the avoidance of defilement was an issue of decisive importance to them as well. As a result, the avoidance of impurity became a restriction on the salvation activities of the Buddhist priests. Yet, as I will describe below, the priests of Kamakura New Buddhism promoted arguments which overcame the perceived bounds of defilement, and they involved themselves in a positive way with it. To put it another way, they deliberately placed themselves in the way of impurity. So, by focusing on the issue of the evasion of defilement, I would like to reconsider what the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period was really concerned with.

The apostate Middle Ages – jukai and the kairitsu

Two other keywords in this chapter are *jukai* 授戒 and *kairitsu* 戒律. As previously noted, the *kairitsu* 戒律 (Skt.: vinaya) are the precepts established by Śākyamuni for his order of monks, and the ceremony during which one pledges to observe them is indicated by the word '*jukai*'. There are no less than 250 precepts according to the *kairitsu* text of the Dharmagupta-vinaya (J.: *Shibunritsu*) on which one has to make an oath in order to become a fully-fledged priest. Not to have sex (*fuin* 不淫), not to take life (*fusetsu* 不殺), not to steal (*futō* 不盗), and not to lie

[about one's enlightenment] (*fumōgo* 不妄語) are the most important ones.

By the way, at my university I was in charge of the classes on 'The Japanese Language and the Japanese Way of Life' for foreign students. 'Why do Japanese Buddhist priests get married?' was one of the questions which students frequently asked during those classes, especially students from Thailand and Malaysia. At that time, I began by discussing the Shinran's Jōdo shin sect, which recognized marriage and developed a large number of branches, and I ended by telling them that after the Meiji Restoration (1868) the priests of most of the orders were allowed to get married.

However, even with such an explanation it was hard to satisfy the foreign students. I was immediately faced with the following counter-argument: 'Buddhism is supposed to be based on the teachings of Śākyamuni. And Śākyamuni is supposed to have decided that priests are not allowed to marry, as is stipulated by the rule not to have sex. When, in spite of this, priests do not observe the precepts, can we really call them Buddhists?' In reply, I could only say that this is a peculiarity of Japanese Buddhism. But each time I was asked such a question by the foreign students, it made me think about the relationship between Japanese Buddhism and the precepts.

When I investigated medieval Japanese Buddhism, people appeared who did indeed have their minds set on observing these commandments. To be exact, it was then for the first time in Japanese history that an order of such people was formed (not just priests, because the order consisted of lay believers as well). It was the order of the Ritsu priests, like Eizon 叡尊, Ninshō 忍性 and Echin[5] 恵鎮 (1281–1356) who are known for their 'revival' of the precepts. An order of precepts priests emerged who devoted their lives to social support, while studying the precepts, exerting themselves to follow the the precepts, persuading the masses to abide by them and performing the *jukai* ceremony. Put another way, the existence of this order rather suggests that apostasy had become the norm in the medieval period. For, if this had not been the case, the existence of the Ritsu priests who endeavoured to achieve the seemingly impossible task of observing the precepts, would never have been given much notice.

Actually, in those days, 'warrior monks' (*sōhei* 僧兵), who daily assiduously trained themselves in the martial arts, were on the rampage, and the marriage of priests had become widespread, as is shown by the fact that even the father[6] of Eizon 叡尊, who aimed at the 'revival' of the *kairitsu*, was a priest at Kōfukuji in Nara. A decisively emblematic event for the medieval 'age of apostasy', was the appearance of *Shinran*'s order in particular, which held up the ideal of being neither priest nor layman and saw matrimony as only natural. I do not consider that research on the *kairitsu* has been given the serious consideration it deserves in the earlier studies on Kamakura New Buddhism.

One reason for this is that *Shinran*'s view on matrimony was considered to be the exemplar for Kamakura New Buddhism, while the *kairitsu* were to be denied in this context. However, since Buddhism is based on the teachings of Śākyamuni, one cannot speak of it if one overlooks the precepts that he laid down. For that very reason, a 'revival'[7] of the precepts occurred, and *kairitsu* may be just the keystone to reconsider the essence of Kamakura New Buddhism. From this, I have tried to rethink the period by highlighting the precepts. More clearly, I regard the orders of Ritsu priests like *Eizon* and *Echin*, which aimed at the 'revival' of the precepts, as yet another type of Kamakura New Buddhism.

Understandably, there will be those who regard the observance of the *kairitsu* as impossible and the Ritsu priests as hypocrites. Yet, next to these commandments, short-cuts (or should I say excuses?) called *jōhō* 浄法,[8] are provided, making acts against the precepts allowable within the limits of the larger precepts. Apart from the four gravest offences (Skt.: *pārājika*'; J.: *shiharai* 四波羅夷) of deliberately killing people, having sexual intercourse, stealing money and talking vaingloriously about one's enlightenment, one can, in principle, be forgiven as long as one shows repentance (J.: *sange* 懺悔). That is why observing the precepts was not such a hopelessly arduous task.

Thus, when we look at the historical sources of Eizon and his Ritsu priests from Saidaiji in Nara, who attempted to 'revive' the precepts in the Middle Ages, they write: 'Since we observe these strict *kairitsu* every day, we will never be defiled thanks to their magical powers.' In other words, it appears that the observance of these severe rules was the starting point for their salvation activi-

ties. Moreover, they encouraged the populace to follow their stated commandments, and they preached that if they did so, their wishes would be fulfilled through the magical powers of the precepts.

What is more, the Ritsu priests played a conspicuous part in religious fund-raising as well. I would like to reconsider Kamakura New Buddhism by paying special attention to Shinran's order and Eizon's Ritsu priests, who stand, in direct opposition concerning the *kairitsu*. This may even encourage us, living in today's world which is materially the most prosperous in history but at the same time can be called 'the age without precepts', to think about the meaning of life.

Use of legends

So far, I have discussed the issues I would especially like to highlight – the ingredients, as it were, and the dishes I am going to make with them. But let me now explain the particular methodology or, as we might say, the recipe. As noted above, characteristic of my approach is the use of legends as sources. I am particularly interested in the *soshi shinwa*, which are the myths that were ascribed to the patriarchs (*soshi* 祖師) or founders (*kaiso* 開祖) of the new sects of Kamakura Buddhism such as Hōnen and Shinran. From the medieval period onwards, a large number of illustrated biographies of patriarchs (*soshi eden* 祖師絵伝) was produced. In contrast to biographies of high priests (*kōsōden* 高僧伝) that were written in classical Chinese writing (*kanbun* 漢文) before the medieval period, the *soshi eden* such as the 'Illustrated biography of the Holy Man Hōnen' (*Hōnen shōnin eden* 法然上人絵伝) and the 'Illustrated biography of the Holy Man Shinran' (*Shinran shōnin eden* 親鸞聖人絵伝) gave expression to the life stories of these founders through illustrations and texts (a mixture of ideograms and phonetic script). They generated a sense of respect for the founders and the so-called 'patriarch worship' (*soshi shinkō* 祖師信仰), and they ascribed many myths to them which have nothing to do with historical facts. Examples of these are stories such as those about the salvation of a prostitute by Hōnen and about the aid which Shinran gave to outcasts.

In previous studies of Kamakura New Buddhism, myths were discarded as fictitious fairy tales. One compared numerous historical sources and tried to collect only the ones which could be said to hold 'the truth', and myths were not used as sources. To put it another way, we can safely say that they did not ask the questions of why these myths were ascribed to the patriarchs, or how their existence relates to the specific character of Kamakura New Buddhism. Nevertheless, as a result of studies of mythology and religion, it has become clear that myths are a very important key to the understanding of the groups that give rise to them. They represent a group's archetype and model for life, and they reveal its often hidden intellectual culture.

History of research into medieval Japanese Buddhism

Owing to its great importance, many scholars have attempted to elucidate the essential aspects of Kamakura New Buddhism. Major contributions have been made by Ienaga Saburō[9] 家永三郎 (1913–2002), Inoue Mitsusada[10] 井上光貞 (1916–83) and Kuroda Toshio[11] 黒田俊雄 (1926–93). It is through their diligent efforts that today we have an understanding of certain important aspects of Kamakura New Buddhism.

The main theories proposed by these scholars can be categorized into two groups. The first was that advanced by the historians Ienaga Saburō[12] and Inoue Mitsusada. I call it Theory A. It examined the ideas of the founders, highlighting on the one hand the standpoint of *jiriki* 自力, attaining enlightenment through the power of one's own efforts, which is stressed by denominations such as the Zen school; and on the other hand the teaching of *tariki* 他力 by which one entrusts oneself to Amitābha Buddha's power of salvation. In either case, a school is defined as Kamakura New Buddhism based on the concepts of *senchaku* 選択 ('selective [practice]'), *senju* 専修 ('sole practice') and *igyō* 易行 ('easy practice'; concentrating on one aspect or buddha; anti-precepts), and on the goal of salvation of the populace.

For example, Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262) and Ippen 一遍 (1239–89) exclusively chose the 'easy practice' of the *nenbutsu* (chanting *Namu Amidabutsu* 南無阿弥陀仏); Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–82) chose the *shōdai* 唱題,

the recitation of the title of the *Lotus Sutra*; Zen priests chose the practice of *zazen* 座禅, and among them Dōgen (1200–53) emphasized *shikan taza* 只管打座 (the 'just sitting meditation' of the Sōtō Zen school). In contrast to the priests of Old Buddhism who conducted the salvation of the emperor and nobility and prayed for the protection of the nation (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家), the priests of Kamakura New Buddhism put their efforts into the salvation of the general population. Theory A won broad support before Kuroda Toshio presented 'Theory B', widely known as the *kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制 theory or the 'Exoteric-Esoteric System'. Given the fact that Theory A has lost the influence it had in the 1980s, I will focus principally on Theory B.

Kuroda Toshio discussed temple and shrine authority in medieval Japan in terms of the concepts of orthodoxy and heresy. He pointed out that the loose affiliation of temple and shrine power combined with esoteric Buddhism was considered as orthodoxy by the government. It was this orthodox combination of temple and shrine authority that Kuroda termed *kenmitsu taisei*, the esoteric system of Buddhism that represented the Buddhist establishment. According to Kuroda, the central concept of esoteric Buddhism was the idea of original enlightenment (*hongaku* 本覚). On the other hand, the government condemned and suppressed as heretical priests like Hōnen, Shinran and Nichiren who denied the value of *kenmitsu taisei* Buddhism. Kuroda called the Buddhism of these suppressed priests Kamakura New Buddhism. In the medieval period, *kenmitsu taisei* Buddhism was dominant and this Kuroda called Kamakura Old Buddhism. Thus, according to Kuroda, the typical and dominant Buddhism in medieval Japan was not Kamakura New Buddhism at all but Kamakura Old Buddhism.

The importance of Kuroda's theory can be summarized in four points. First, he proposed the idea of orthodoxy and heresy in place of the commonly accepted terms Kamakura New Buddhism and Kamakura Old Buddhism. Second, he pointed out the importance of esoteric Buddhism as the institutional core in the transformation of medieval Japanese Buddhism and focused on original enlightenment thought (*hongaku shisō* 本覚思想) as the typical form of esoteric Buddhism. Third, he considered that attention should be paid to the importance of

Kamakura Old Buddhism in this transformation. He made it clear that Kamakura Old Buddhism played a more dominant role than Kamakura New Buddhism during the medieval period. This was a fairly new idea at that time since most scholars believed that Kamakura New Buddhism was the typical and dominant form of Buddhism in medieval Japan. Kuroda's model was so attractive to the new generation of young scholars that many turned to the study of Kamakura Old Buddhism.

Last, but not least, Kuroda attempted to understand the overall picture of religious activity in medieval Japan. Initially, the followers of Theory A tended to focus only on individual sects or schools, especially the Jōdo or Pure Land sects. This inevitably caused them to overlook the large picture of medieval religion. Instead of simply taking the Jōdo sects as typical of Kamakura New Buddhism, Kuroda proposed a total vision of the religious situation in medieval Japan.

While we have greatly benefited from Kuroda's distinguished insights, his theory is not without its problems. My strongest opposition to his understanding of Japanese medieval religion concerns his apparent confusion of the religious dimensions with the socio-political dimensions. This confusion can be seen in his use of the terms orthodoxy and heresy. According to his model, these terms should be used in a religious context. Yet, he confusingly applies them in the socio-political context as well. He defines Kamakura New Buddhism as the Buddhism of those orders associated with the suppressed priests. What made Kamakura New Buddhism 'new' was its suppression at the hands of the political authorities of the time. His conclusion was that Kamakura New Buddhism must, therefore, have been heretical. The fact that it was suppressed, according to Kuroda, was a consequence of its being new. However, the government does not always suppress new thought as heresy. Nor is old thought always supported as orthodoxy. Indeed, as I argue below, the political authorities of medieval Japan on some occasions actively supported those groups which were developing new thought.

Second, Kuroda over-emphasizes original enlightenment thought as the typical characteristic of esoteric Buddhism. This is misleading because, as has been persuasively shown by Professor

Sueki Fumihiko[13] 末木文美士 (b.1949), *hongaku shisō* is not fundamentally esoteric.

Third, he argues that esoteric Buddhism was the core of the system that combined temple and shrine authority.[14] However, this too is misleading. Esoteric Buddhism did not function sufficiently to serve as a unifying core. Kuroda, on the one hand, maintains that throughout the medieval period, the power of esoteric Buddhism increased, and on the other hand he admits that the power of the exoteric-esoteric system began to decline. This kind of reasoning is self-contradictory.

What model might explain more convincingly the problems Kuroda bequeathed to us without losing his all-encompassing vision of the medieval religious situation? One helpful hint may lie in the fact that most of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism had entered the world of the official priesthood before they removed themselves and established their own orders. Moreover, historical documents unanimously record that they were referred to as *tonseisō*[15] (遁世僧, lit. 'reclusive monks') by others.

Why did the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism escape from the world of the official priesthood and what was the world from which they fled? This question invites us to investigate the actual situation of the official priesthood and the fundamental reason for the retreat of these founders. Historical records tell us that while official monks had many privileges, they also had many restrictions. Of course, the founders of the orders of Kamakura New Buddhism may each have had their own personal reasons for leaving the world of official monks, but I believe that the underlying reason was the restrictions imposed upon them as official monks.

Based on this fact, I would like to propose an alternative perspective on the transformation of Japanese medieval religion. In short, I propose that there was a dramatic shift from *kansō* (官僧, lit. 'official monks') as protagonist to *tonseisō* as protagonist. Additionally, I would argue that the *tonseisō* were responsible for producing and propelling Kamakura New Buddhism. Further, I argue that it was through this shift that a religion for the individual became firmly established for the first time in Japanese history. We will look into this later.

We have already considered three features of medieval Japan from a religious point of view: the medieval period of religious fund-raising, defilement and the apostate Middle Ages. In discussing the apostate Middle Ages, I focused in particular on the Ritsu priests represented by Eizon (1200–90).

Here, I would like to look at the history of the official priesthood, the *kansō*, and the development, in the medieval period, of the reclusive priesthood, the *tonseisō*. The Ritsu priests are, sometimes, confused with the priests of the Ritsu school, which was one of the six schools of the Nara period (Nanto rokushū). These 'Six Schools of the Southern Capital', Nara, refer to the groups of Buddhist scholars who received official recognition in the Nara period (710–84), and are represented by the six schools of Hossō, Sanron, Jōjitsu, Kusha, Kegon and Ritsu. Here, it is important to note that, even though they are also 'schools', unlike for example the Jōdo shin sect of Kamakura New Buddhism, they were not orders which were arranged with faith at their nucleus, nor did they regard their lay believers as constituent members. On the other hand, the medieval Ritsu priests such as Eizon and his followers did form an order which included lay members. The difference between these medieval Ritsu priests and those of the Nara period allows us to bring the essence of Kamakura New Buddhism into bold relief.

The six schools of Nara are often discussed as if they had lost their significance after the Nara period, especially in the medieval period. However, priests who carried on their traditions also existed in the Middle Ages. For example, there were still scholars of the teachings of the Hossō school at temples such as Kōfukuji, and the Ritsu school remained at Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji. Then, why did neither the priests of the six schools nor those of the two schools of Shingon and Tendai, which were established in the Heian period (Heian nishū), form orders like that of the Shin sect. An organization needs an economic basis in order to sustain itself and grow. The current orders depend economically on the donations and offerings of their believers. To support an order, such contributions are essential.

However, the priests of the ancient and medieval six Nara schools and the two Heian schools were, in principle, not in any particular need of believers (or, in other words, of donations and

offerings), because they were, essentially, state officials, and received their payment from the state in exchange for their participation in national religious services. Accordingly, they had no need to respond to the personal desires for salvation of individual believers, nor did they feel the necessity to organize their lay devotees, or to collect alms.

The status of 'state officials' of these priests is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the emperor had the prerogative to decide when, who and how many priests could be ordained. When a layman leaves his household and becomes a priest, it is called *shukke* (lit.: 'leaving the house [holder's life]') or *tokudo* ('taking orders'), but in earlier times, the emperor held the authorization for these ordinations.

'Leaving home'

Since we are now considering *shukke* and *tokudo*, let us first of all discuss the various strata of Buddhist believers. In principle (here according to the Dharmagupla-vinaya), there were the seven strata of upāsaka (J.: *ubasoku*), upāsikā (J.: *ubai*), śrāmaṇera (J.: *shami*), śrāmaṇerī (J.: *shamini*), śikşamāṇā (J.: *shikishamana*), bhikşu (J.: *biku*) and bhikşuṇī (J.: *bikuni*), of which the upāsaka ('men living close by') and the upāsikā ('women living close by') were lay believers, and the rest were ordained priests – in other words, professionals.

The śrāmaṇera and bhikşu were male-ordained priests, as opposed to the śrāmaṇerikā, the śikşamānā and the bhikşuṇī who were ordained nuns. Furthermore, the śrāmaṇera, the śrāmaṇerikā and the śikşamānā were novices who either had not yet come of age, or who had come of age but were still in training. They did not get the same treatment as fully-fledged priests or nuns: for example, they were not allowed to have disciples, they were not admitted to the meetings of the bhikşu and bhikşuṇī, and so on. On the other hand, the bhikşu and bhikşuṇī were adult and fully-fledged clergy. In order to join these ranks, one had to pass through several stages, and was required to undergo the prescribed initiations and rites of passage.

First of all, to become an upāsaka or upāsikā, one had to take the following vow: 'I take refuge in the buddha. I take refuge in

the Dharma. I take refuge in the samgha', and one had to pledge to observe the five precepts of not killing, not stealing, not committing adultery, not telling lies and not drinking alcohol.

The śrāmaṇera and the śrāmaṇerikā received in the presence of their teachers the ten precepts of not killing, not stealing, not committing adultery, not telling falsehoods, not drinking, not eating at unsanctioned times (meaning not to eat after noon), keeping away from any form of dance, music or play, not adorning oneself with any sort of decoration or perfume, not resting on high or large beds and not accepting gold or silver. Furthermore, in the ceremony for taking orders, their heads were shaved, they received their Buddhist name (*hōmyō*), and they put on priestly robes, the *kesa*.

The śikşamāṇā were the nuns who received two years of training (during which time it was determined whether or not they could put up with the cloistered life-style, and that they were not pregnant) before they became bhikşuṇī, and they vowed to follow the 'six Dharma-precepts' (J.: *roppōkai*) of not killing, not stealing, not committing adultery, not telling lies, not drinking and not eating at unsanctioned times.

To become a bhikşu, a śrāmaṇera was required to undergo the ceremony in which he pledged before the 'precept-teachers' to observe 250 precepts, such as not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to kill and not to tell falsehoods. Among the ordinations, this one had the most precepts and was the most solemn. Therefore, jukai means the ordination ceremony in which śrāmaṇera (śikşamānā) become bhikşu (bhikşuṇī). The site where this ceremony is held is called the 'precepts-place' (*kaijō*), or when it takes the shape of a platform, it is called a 'precepts-platform' (*kaidan*).

In the case of the ordination for bhikşuṇī, śikşamānā vowed to observe the 348 precepts such as not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to kill, not to tell falsehoods, not to come in touch with the male body, not to be alone with a man, not to hide bhikşuṇī who have committed one of the 'eight gravest offences' and not to follow bhikşuṇī who have sinned.

It will not have escaped the reader's notice that women were subjected to stricter rules than men. This derives from the Buddhist idea that women are more tormented by evil passions

(Skt.: *kle'sa*; J.: *bonnō*) than men, which also became a limitation to the salvation of women by practitioners of Buddhism.

Basically, in this way, one became a fully-fledged priest or nun after going through the two initiations of taking orders and *jukai*. But, the Japanese ordination system of official priests had to wait for the arrival of Jianzhen (J.: Ganjin) to be established.

After Jianzhen, who is called the founder of the Japanese ordination system, came to Japan in 754 (Tenpyo Shōhō 6), the first state precepts-platform was founded at Tōdaiji Kaidan'in in 755, and in 761 (Tenpyō hōji 5) precepts-platforms were erected at Yakushiji in Shimotsuke (present-day Tochigi prefecture) and at Kanzeonji in Chikuzen (present-day Fukuoka prefecture) as well. Further, in 822 (Kōnin 13), the efforts of Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and his disciples resulted in the establishment of a precepts-platform at Enryakuji in Ōmi (present-day Shiga prefecture) too. There, ordinations were held depending on the second fascicle of the Brahmajala-sutra (J.: *Bonmōkyō* 梵網経), in which one vowed to observe the 'Ten principal and the forty-eight minor precepts' (J.: *jū jū shijūhachi kyōkai* 十重四十八軽戒), with the 'five invisible teachers' as precepts-teachers, to which the head abbot (*zasu* 座主) of Enryakuji (its highest authority and leader of the Tendai school) was added later.

In the past, the establishment of this Enryakuji precepts-platform was highly acclaimed as the Mahayana precepts-platform where the 'benefit of others' was aspired to, while the other three platforms were considered to be Hinayana platforms where one specialized in seeking enlightenment for 'one's own benefit'. However, whatever Saichō's intentions, the other three precepts-platforms equally belonged to Mahayana Buddhism. In either case, it is an important point that all four of them were placed in the position of state precepts-platforms. In this way, the four state precepts-platforms of the ancient period were established, and in order to become a fully-fledged official priest, one needed to receive the *jukai* at one of these four. It should be pointed out that the ordination system of these precepts-platforms, apart from the Yakushiji platform, which ceased to function in the eleventh century, did not end in the ancient period and was in fact operative until the middle of the fourteenth century.

As noted earlier, I would like to refer to the priests ordained at

these platforms by the name of *kansō*, or official priests – they were like state officials who became fully-ordained priests through a state ordination ceremony that was sanctioned by the emperor at one of the state precepts-platforms.

Kansō are sometimes mistakenly thought to be priests who live at *kanji* – official temples founded by the state. The temples where they lived may, however, have been clan-temples, the archetypal *kansō* priest who had been permitted to take orders by the emperor had become fully-fledged through an ordination at a state precepts-platform, had received a priestly rank and office (similar to an official's rank and position), and took part in religious services of the state.

Finally, among the *kansō* of the Heian period, the two prominent groups were the one which had Enryakuji (doctrinally speaking, the Tendai school) at its nucleus (which I will now refer to as the 'Hiei group') and the one which was centred around Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji (in doctrinal terms the Hossō and Shingon schools, which I will now refer to as the 'Nara group').

The rise of the tonseisō

It may seem strange that an examination of Kamakura New Buddhism should begin with the *kansō*. In fact, those whom I consider to be the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism such as Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262), Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–82), Eisai 栄西 (1141–1215), Dōgen 道元 (1200–53), Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232) and Eizon 叡尊 (1201–90), had once been *kansō*, and what is more, they discovered their own path in the course of both their confrontation and cooperation with the groups of official priests. In other words, they had trained themselves in the world of *kansō*, but at the same time, they felt dissatisfied with it, and having seceded themselves from the privileges and restrictions of the official priests, they established their new teachings. In this way, the world of the *kansō* acted as the womb of Kamakura New Buddhism.

For example, Hōnen, whom we may call the pioneer of the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period, set out from Enryakuji as an official priest. Since he is undoubtedly an exemplary model among those who founded Kamakura New Buddhism, it makes

good sense to examine his priestly life. He was born in 1133 (Chōshō 2) as the son of the warrior Uruma Tokikuni 漆間時国 (1098?–1141) in the province of Mimasaka (present-day Okayama prefecture). When Hōnen was nine years old, his father was killed in a dispute over a tract of land. Following his father's last will, the boy who would become Hōnen studied to leave the so-called 'householder's life' (*shukke*) under his uncle Kangaku 観覚 (n.d.). In 1145 (Kyūan 1), he climbed Mt Hiei, and on the eighth day of the eleventh month of 1147 (Kyūan 3), at the age of fifteen, he was ordained by head abbot Gyōgen 行玄 (1097–1155) at the Hiei precepts-platform.

However, at eighteen years of age, he moved to the Kurodani *bessho*, where he practised under his master Eikū 叡空 (d.1179) and pursued a life of strict observance of the precepts. It is said that in those days, he came to bear the name of Hōnenbō Genkū 源空.

Even though the Kurodani *bessho* was situated on Mt Hiei, its organization differed from Enryakuji. It was a place where so-called *hijiri*, priests who had distanced themselves from the *kansō*, assembled in a kind of no man's land between the state temple and the secular world. Therefore, as a result of their exemption from participation in the religious services of the state, they had to obtain their food by themselves while living there.

Hōnen left Kurodani in 1156 (Hōgen 1), pursued his studies at various temples such as Seiryōji and Daigoji, and in 1175 (Jōan 5) he experienced his religious awakening after reading Shàndǎo liar's *Guan wuliangshou jing shu*, which made him toughen his standpoint of 'sole practice of the nenbutsu' (*senju nenbutsu*, to which I will refer later). He then went on to found the Jōdo School, and applied himself to the conversion of others in Yoshimizu, in the Higashiyama area of Kyōto. Here, his activities as a founder of Kamakura New Buddhism developed to their fullest. Former Enryakuji *kansō*, such as Shōkū 証空 (1177–1247), Ryūkan 隆寛 (1148–1228) and Shinran 親鸞 became his disciples, and his influence expanded to such an extent that even high aristocrats such as Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1159–1207) became his followers. His main work, *the Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū* 選択本願念仏集, is said to have been written for Kujō Kanezane with the cooperation of his disciples in 1198.

Hōnen taught that '*nenbutsu*' is the one and only practice selected by the absolute being Amitābha Buddha, for rebirth in [his Pure Land of] Sukhāvatī (J.: *Gokuraku*), preaching that the way to salvation was open to all people throughout the world. Consequently, it was considered heretical by the *kansō* official priesthood of temples such as Enryakuji and Kōfukuji, who recognized difference in religious capacity according to one's level of practice, and who exerted themselves at a combination of various practices (J.: *kenshū*).

In 1207 (Jōgen 1), Hōnen's disciples were suspected of an illicit connection with the wives of ex-emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽上皇 (1180–1239), which led to the so-called 'Jōgen Persecution'; the prohibition of his teachings, and Hōnen's exile to Sanuki (present-day Kagawa prefecture). Later on, he was pardoned, upon which he returned to Yoshimizu in 1211 (Kenryaku 1), and died the following year. Again, in this 'Jōgen Persecution' we also find that Hōnen's order endeavoured to save women as well as men.

When we look at the historical sources of those days, it becomes clear that to distance oneself from the world of the *kansō*, and to be assiduous in Buddhist practices in an isolated place, was expressed by the words *inton* 隠遁 ('retreat') and *tonsei* 遁世 ('seclusion'). In spite of the fact that originally *shukke* ('taking orders') was identical to 'retreat' or 'seclusion from the world', this indicates a move to leave the *kansō* world and practise Buddhism, that is to re-renounce the world (a second retreat).

This very fact indicates that the world of the *kansō* had become yet another 'secular world' rather than one of monastic seclusion. For example, during the Heian period, many sons of aristocrats entered both Enryakuji and Nara temples such as Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji, and even in the world of the *kansō*, secular human relations and social standing made their influence felt. While the sons of emperors and noblemen quickly rose in status, those without a good lineage and family backing had to be contented with the lower priestly ranks, even if they had talent. We can presume that even if one was learned, well-versed in the precepts and steadfast in their practice like Hōnen, his future as a country-bred priest who had lost his father at an early age, was not bright at all in the world of the *kansō*.

Furthermore, as a general rule the *kansō* did not respond to the individual wishes for salvation of the troubled citizens of the Heian and Nara periods. The reason for this is that they had restrictions that were equal to the public service regulations for state officials, and they could only practise the salvation of 'individuals' by means of a *shishō* 私請 (to undertake an individual invitation, upon receiving permission from the temple). Therefore, in the Kamakura period they were succeeded by priests who sought to put 'benefiting of others' into practice, who pursued the true Buddhist way and managed to release themselves from the world of the *kansō*.

Shinran, Nichiren and Dōgen as tonseisō

Practically all the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism were reclusive priests like Hōnen – in a word *tonseisō*. To be more precise, those orders which established the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period, had *tonseisō* at their nucleus (the patriarchs). Let us now have a look at the careers of the other founders from the point of their taking orders and their life of re-renunciation.

Shinran, the founder of the Jōdo shin sect, was born in 1173 (Jōan 3) as the son of the middle-class aristocrat Hino Arinori. In 1181 (Jishō 5), at the age of nine, he entered the priesthood and served as a *dōsō* under Jien of Shōren'in, a temple linked to Enryakuji. But in 1201 (Kennin 1) at twenty-nine, he became a disciple of Hōnen, 'drawn by his aspiration for tonsei'. In short, Shinran had also first become a *kansō* of Enryakuji, then seceded from his social standing as an official priest, and became a pupil of Hōnen. Therefore, Shinran was a *tonseisō* as well.

Nichiren[16] is said to have been born in 1222 (Jōō 1) as the son of a fisherman in Awa (part of present-day Chiba prefecture), and to have entered the Tendai temple of Kiyosumidera in the same province. According to tradition, he received his training in Kamakura, Kyōto, Enryakuji and in Nara, but the Tendai priests of those days, except those of the Onjōji, were to participate in their *jukai* ceremony at the Hiei precepts-platform, so it is conceivable that Nichiren received his ordination there too. He returned to the Kiyosumidera in 1253 (Kenchō 5) at the age of thirty-two, and endeavoured to progress towards attaining

enlightenment. He believed that the sutras that were expounded before the *Lotus Sutra* did not reveal the true form of Śākyamuni's enlightenment, and so should be rejected. Thus, he asserted that in the time of mappō just chanting '*Namu myō hō rengekyō*' was sufficient. In 1256 (Kenchō 8), he went to Kamakura and started promoting his ideas to the people. Hence, we can say that Nichiren, too, was a *tonseisō* who distanced himself from the *kansō* of Enryakuji.

Dōgen was born in 1200 (Shōji 2) as the son of Great Minister of the Centre (*naidaijin*) Minamoto no Michichika 源通親 (1149–1202), but at an early age, he lost both his parents. In the spring of 1212 (Kenryaku 2), he went up to Enryakuji and received his ordination the following year (Kenpō 1) at the Hiei precepts-platform. In other words, he became an official priest, but in 1223 (Jōō 2) he went to Song Dynasty China where he is said to have attained supreme enlightenment under Ru Jing 如浄 (1163–1228). In 1227 (Antei 1), he returned to Japan, and though he temporarily associated himself with Kenninji in Kyōto, he moved to the An'yoin in the Fukakusa district of the same city in 1230 (Kangi 2) because he had criticized the adherents of Enryakuji. Thus, Dōgen was also a *tonseisō* who seceded himself from the Enryakuji *kansō*.

Eisai was born in Bitchū (part of present-day Okayama prefecture) in 1141, he entered the priesthood at the age of fourteen and received his *jukai* at the Hiei precepts-platform. Thereafter, he went to Song China twice, where he 'inherited the Law' (*shihō*) from Xu'an Huaichang 虚庵懐敞 (n.d.), and from 1194 (Kenkyū 5) onwards he started preaching the principles of Zen. In short, Eisai, too, was a *tonseisō* who had left the Enryakuji lineage of *kansō*. It is true that, though he had assumed the *tonsei* position, he received the priestly rank of 'archbishop of the lower rank' (*gonsōjō*)[17] with the support of the Kamakura shogunate in 1213 (Kenpo 1). Therefore, his existence as a *tonseisō* may seem questionable. Nevertheless, in the *Shasekishū* his appointment to archbishop of the lower rank is justified as follows: 'That he became an archbishop of the lower rank while being of the *tonsei* status, was because the *tonseisō* were as much despised as outcasts, and it was to improve the position of the *tonseisō* that he became an archbishop.'[18] The fact that such an explanation was

needed shows that the *tonseisō* were in principle separated from the *kansō* system, and further that Eisai as an archbishop of the lower rank and a *tonseisō* was an exception to this rule.

Yet another founder of Kamakura New Buddhism who distanced himself from the Enryakuji *kansō* was Echin 慧鎮. Although, up to now, he has been paid hardly any attention, I would like to mention him because he is an extremely important figure in this book, which places the issue of the precepts at its centre.

Echin, also known as Enkan 円観, was born in 1281 (Kōan 4) in Ōmi. He became a priest at Enryakuji in 1295 (Einin 3) at the age of fifteen, and received his *jukai* at the precepts-platform of the same temple, when he was granted the *kansō* name of Iyonobō Dōsei 伊予房道政. In 1303 (Kagen 1), he went into retreat and became a Zen priest for a while, but in the following year he returned to Kurodani. In 1305 (Kagen 3), he secluded himself for the second time, following Kōen 興円 (n.d.), and together they sought the 'revival' of the precepts. Echin and his followers conducted their 'revival' receiving an impetus from the actions of Eizon, but I would like to stress that at the Hiei, too, there was also a movement which insisted upon the observance of the precepts and not only one which claimed to be against them like Shinran's. Thus, Echin became a *tonseisō* from the Hiei group, and the leader of the religious fund-raising for Tōdaiji, and he carried out important activities such as the 'revival'of Hotsushōji 法勝寺.

Echin should be noted especially for the fact that he was in charge of the compilation of the original *Taiheiki* 太平記 (consisting of more than thirty volumes). The *Taiheiki*, which comes down to us in forty volumes, was not written down at one particular point in time. To the original *Taiheiki* of more than thirty volumes, additions and corrections were made, and around 1371–72 (Oan 4, 5) it was completed by Kojima *hōshi*[19] 小島法師 (d.1374) (who was perhaps a disciple of Echin[20]).

Leaving the kansō

We have seen how the *tonseisō* distanced themselves from the *kansō* of Enryakuji or the Hiei group, but those who seceded

from the *kansō* of the Nara group existed as well. They were priests such as Myōe and Eizon, who have until now been regarded as the reformers of Old Buddhism.

Myōe was born in 1173 (Oan 3) in the province of Kii (present-day Wakayama prefecture) as the son of Taira no Shigekuni 平重国 (n.d.). In 1188 (Bunji 4), at the age of sixteen, he became a priest under Jōkaku 上覚 (n.d.), receiving the precepts at the precepts-platform of Tōdaiji, and studied the teachings of Kegon in Sonshōin. But at the age of twenty-one, he refused a request to participate in a religious service of the state (a so-called 'public service', or *kushō* 公請), and thereupon he went into retreat. In other words, Myōe, too, was a *tonseisō* who separated himself from the *kansō* of the Nara group. I would like to call the order which he founded the Shingi Kegon 新義華厳 (lit.: 'New Kegon') order.

The other Nara-connected *tonseisō* was Eizon. Eizon became famous as a Ritsu priest who laboured for the 'revival' of the precepts. In this book, which is focused on a re-evaluation of Kamakura New Buddhism with the *kairitsu* as its axis, Eizon is identified as a priest who ought to receive our special attention. He was also called Shienbō 思円房, and he was born as the son of a priest of Kōfukuji in what is now the city of Yamato-Koriyama. In 1217 (Kenpō 5), he entered the priesthood at Daigoji in Kyōto Yamashina at the age of seventeen, and received his *jukai* at the Tōdaiji precepts-platform in the same year. Thereafter, he mainly studied esoteric Buddhism at temples like Daigoji. In short, he diligently pursued his mission as a *kansō* specializing in esoteric Buddhism.

However, in the ninth month of 1236 (Katei 2), he performed his so-called *jisei jukai* 自誓受戒 (lit.: 'receiving the precepts vowing on one's own') together with Kakujō 覚盛 (1194–1249) and others in front of the statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (J.: Kannon bosatsu) at the Tōdaiji Hokkedō. Through this *jukai* he claimed to have become a 'bodhisattva priest' (J.: *bosatsu sō* 菩薩僧), a priest who does not aim purely at his own enlightenment, but tries to save others as well. Thereupon, he seceded from *kansō* status and became a *tonseisō*. I would like to draw attention to the fact, that Eizon, though being a Ritsu priest, was a *tonseisō* and not a *kansō* studying the Ritsu school of the Six

Nara schools. In order to distinguish the Ritsu sect, which he founded, from the Ritsu school of the *kansō*, I prefer to call it the Shingi ritsu 新義律 (lit.: 'New Ritsu') sect, and its priests Shingi ritsu priests. However, as I am not dealing with the Ritsu school of the *kansō*, I will abbreviate the term Shingi Ritsu priests to Ritsu priests.

After this, Eizon exerted himself in his activities of 'reviving Buddhism and benefiting sentient beings' (*kōbōrishō* 興法利生) with Saidaiji in Nara as his centre. He particularly encouraged people to observe the precepts, and he spread the faith in Śākyamuni, Prince Shōtoku and Maitreya. He also worked diligently at the revival of official temples in his activities by, among other things, becoming the administrative head priest (*bettō* 別当) of Shitennōji in Osaka. His leading disciple was Ninshō, whom we will consider later.

There may be those who would question whether Eizon was actually a *tonseisō* because he became the administrative head priest of official temples. However, an administrative head priest of an official temple had a position which is comparable to that of the president of a state university. Similar in the fact that one can be inaugurated as president no matter whether one is an outsider or a professor of a private university. Thus, one cannot say that Eizon was not a *tonseisō* merely because of his post as administrative head priest. Further, the head priests of temples of *tonseisō* orders were called *chōrō*.

One might also assert that Eizon was a *kansō* because he lived at Saidaiji, which, throughout the Middle Ages was a branch-temple (*matsuji*) of Kōfukuji. But in the medieval period, even Honganji of the Jōdo shin school was a branch-temple of Enryakuji, and we cannot deny the fact that Eizon was a *tonseisō* just because he lived in a branch-temple of a *kansō* temple. Furthermore, in those days, it often happened that *kansō* temple buildings stood next to those of *tonseisō* in the grounds of a large temple.

Ippen and Ji sects

The reader may have noticed that one person who became famous as a founder of Kamakura New Buddhism has been

omitted, namely the patriarch of the Ji school, Ippen. Ippen was born in 1239 (En'ō 1) as the son of Kōno Michihiro 河野通広 of Iyo (present-day Ehime prefecture). He lost his mother at the age of ten, and entered the priesthood in 1250 (Kenchō 2) under Shōdatsu 聖達 (n.d.) from the Seizangi tradition of the Jōdo school (in Harayama near Dazaifu). In 1263 (Kōchō 3), he returned to secular life for a short period of time, but then re-entered the priesthood in 1267 (Bun'ei 4), whereupon he continued his travels as an itinerant priest, having gained more spiritual insight.

Therefore, Ippen did not have the experience of a *kansō*. The background of this is, that by the time that Ippen went out into the world, Kamakura New Buddhism was socially recognized, at least temporarily. However, the myth that he studied at Enryakuji, where he received his *jukai* is important to note. This is because the priests who formed the nucleus of the *tonseisō* orders had an image by which they were supposed to have seceded from the *kansō* and to have renounced the world for a second time, an image which indicates that this was a period when the *tonseisō* orders had acquired a certain amount of social influence. In my view, this applies to Ippen as well.

Essence of Kamakura New Buddhism

Thus, almost all those who have previously been regarded as founders of Kamakura New Buddhism or as reformers of Old Buddhism, were in fact *tonseisō* who seceded from the *kansō*. Also, it should be noted that entry into one of their orders is expressed by the term *tonsei* in contemporary sources. Stated simply, the orders that were established in the Kamakura period, this were *tonseisō* orders.

As to the meaning of Kamakura New Buddhism, this is an issue that has been discussed ever since the Meiji period (1868–1912), and many studies have been devoted to it. When we disregard the small differences between these studies, and concentrate on the shared opinions upon which the scholars built the framework of their research, we can divide them into two main theories.[21]

Each theory defines 'Kamakura New Buddhism' as the Buddhism of the orders which were established in the Kamakura

period. To define these orders as being orders of Kamakura New Buddhism just because they were established anew is problematic, as is evident from the fact that new factions of political parties sometimes have the same nature as the ones that preceded them. However, as I will explain in more detail later, the *tonseisō* orders conducted salvation activities which the *kansō* as a body could not. This is, in my opinion, the very essence of Kamakura New Buddhism.

Besides Hōnen, Shinran, Nichiren, Dōgen and Eisai who have until now been regarded as the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism, priests such as Myōe and Eizon, who were considered reformers of Old Buddhism, started new Buddhist activities and set up orders which included lay believers as constituent members. Thus, they can also be called founders of Kamakura New Buddhism. (This may quite probably be said as well of Shunjō 俊芿 (1166–1227) of Sen'yuji in Kyoto, Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213) of Kaijūsenji in Yamashiro (part of present-day Kyoto prefecture) Dainichi Nōnin 大日 能忍 (n.d.) of Sanbōji in Settsu (part of the present-day Osaka prefecture) as well, but I would like to leave them to future studies.)

Notes

[1] As additional reading in English on the *kanjin* saints and holy men, the following publicications can be recommended: Ichiro Hori, *On the concept of Hijiri* (Holy-Man) in *Numen* Vol. 5 No. 2 (1958) 129–160, 199–232; Janet R. Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii's Press, 1991); Christ Kleine, Hermits and Ascetics in Ancient Japan: The Concept of Hijiri Reconsidered in Japanese Religions' (NCC center for the Study of Japanese Religion) Vol. 22 No. 2 (July 1997) 1–46.

[2] Shūnpō Horike, *Nanto Bukkyōshi no Kenkyū 3* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2003).

[3] See Kōji Yamamoto, *Kegare to Ōharae* (Tokyo: Heibomsha, 1992), 27.

[4] See Kenji Matsuo, *Tonseisō to Nyonin Kyūsai Shingi Kegonshū Kyōdan wo Chūsin ni* in *Josei to Bukkyō*, vol. 2, *Sukui to Oshie* (Tokyo: Heibomsha, 1989), 98.

[5] Concerning the biography of Echin, see my book *Taiheiki* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron shinsha, 2001).

[6] Eizon was born in Yamato province (Nara prefecture) in 1201. His father was Kyōgen 慶玄. Considering Kyōgen, see Kenji Matsuo, *Kyūsai no Shishō* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1996), 39.

[7] 'Revival' is set in parentheses because the activities of the Ritsu priests were

not just a revival, but a radical new development, differing sharply from the pre-existing Nara Ritsu school.

[8] Jō means 'rationalization' here.

[9] Saburō Ienaga, *Chūsei Bukkyō Shisō Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1947).

[10] Mitsusada Inoue, *Nihon Kodai no Kokka to Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971).

[11] Toshio Kuroda, *Kuroda Toshio Chosakushū* Vol. 2 *Kenmitsu Taiseiron* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1994), 310–11. See also James Dobbins (ed.), 'The Legacy of Kuroda Toshio', *Special issue of Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 23/3–4, 1996. Kenji Matsuo, 'What is Kamakura New Buddhism?', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 24/1–2, 1997.

[12] *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 24/1–2, 1997.

[13] Fumihiko Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō Keiseiron* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1998), 43–44.

[14] Toshio Kuroda, *Nihon Chūsei no Kokka to Shūkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1985), 540–543.

[15] See Kenji Matsuo, *Kamakura Shinbukkyō no Seiritsu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 1988), 184.

[16] There are lots of studies about Nichiren. One of newest reserches is Lucia Dora Dolce, *Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the LotusSutra*. (Ph.D. Dissertation, Leiden University, 2002).

[17] There were three main ranks for the priests who superintended the clergy (*sōgō* 僧綱), namely (in descending order of rank): 'archbishop' (*sōjō* 僧正), 'bishop' (*sōzu* 僧都) and 'superintendent' (*risshi* 律師). Each of these ranks had several sub-divisions, such as 'great archbishop' (*daisōjō* 大僧正), s*ōjō*, and 'archbishop of the lower rank' (*gonsōjō* 権僧正).

[18] See Tsunaya Watanabe, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* vol. 85 *Shasekishū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1966), 453. This collection of didactic tales, which was compiled by Mujū Ichien 無住一円 between 1279 and 1283, has been translated into English by Robert E.Morrell and edited by Kenneth Inada: *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985).

[19] The word *hōshi* is technically a clerical title, but it has taken on two distinct meanings. The first refers to a learned priest and was often applied to high-ranking aristocrats who had taken the tonsure. The second sense, which is meant here, refers to a man who functions like a cleric, but is not necessarily ordained. The latter was applied to many wandering performers who dressed like priests.

[20] See Kenji Matsuo '*"Taiheiki" to Echin kyōdan*', in Shunjū Vol. 338 (1992), 388. The *Taiheiki* has been translated into English by Helen Craig Mc Cullough: *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

[21] I have criticized them in my article 'Official monks and reclusive monks' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 64. So, I will not discuss them in detail here.

CHAPTER 4

MEDIEVAL JAPANESE TOWNS AND THE RISE OF KAMAKURA NEW BUDDHISM



LET US NOW consider the relationship between the establishment of medieval Japanese towns and the rise of Kamakura New Buddhism. In other words, I will try to answer the question: why did Kamakura New Buddhism emerge in medieval Japan? The answer to this question is very closely related to the fact that this was a time of great urban expansion, when many new towns were being built. So I would like to take as my starting point the medieval Japanese towns.

Definition of a town

In considering towns, the first question we cannot avoid is 'what is a town?'. The generally accepted definition is 'a place that is surrounded by a castle wall or moat, where people leading a non-agricultural life congregate and live together'. In particular, great importance is attached to the existence of a castle wall or a moat.

The forerunners of European towns were castles surrounded by walls as is shown, for example, by the fact that the German word 'burg' refers to a castle – often to a citadel – and that the names of many German cities end with 'burg', as in Rotenburg and Heidelburg. Formerly, Japanese urban studies have borrowed considerably from European scholarship, which is why the existence of castle walls or moats has been given special attention. However, walls and moats are facilities which confine a

certain space and are meant to defend what is within their boundary. In their immature state they must have surrounded farming villages as well. In other words, the presence of a moat and walls is not an essential condition for the definition of a town. Moreover, when we consider the existence of non-agricultural villages such as those of hunters and fishermen, we cannot define a town as a place where people leading a non-agricultural life gather and live together. Thus, the constituents of a wall or a moat and the residence of non-agricultural people are incidental, and even if we put these constituents together we have not reached the definition of a town. In short, we need another definition. I would now like to focus on the universal function of a town, which is its role as a junction for human traffic, the distribution of goods and the correspondence and transfer of information. I do not think that one can define a town only through this function as a junction, but I have chosen this definition for my purposes.

'Befitting the four gods'

An important factor in the planning of pre-modern Japanese towns, was that it should 'befit the four gods', or *shijin sōō* 四神相応. This principle is based on the teachings expounded by or originated from the Yin-yang or *Onmyōdō* 陰陽道 school of Chinese philosopy, which practised such things as divination and was in common use in the past. It speaks of a location with excellent auspicious topographical features, which are suitable to the tutelary deities of the four directions. These deities are: a blue dragon or *seiryū* 青竜 in the east, a white tiger or *byakko* 白虎 in the west, a red sparrow or *shujaku* 朱雀 in the south, and in the north a 'dark warrior' (*genbu* 玄武), which is usually depicted as a sort of turtle with a snake wound around it. In more concrete terms, this means that the location has a stream flowing to the east, a main road to the west, a swamp or the sea directly south, and mountains to its back in the north.

In building the Inner Palace of the emperor or the court of the shogun, which formed the heart of a town, one tried to build them at locations that were 'befitting the four gods'. For example, the Inner Palace in the capital of Heian, present-day Kyoto, was

built on a location with a stream – the Kamo-river – to the east, a main road – the San'in and San'yo roads – to the west, a swamp – the Ogura pond – directly south, and a mountain – Mount Funaoka – to its back in the north. In the case of the shogunal court of Wakamiyaoji in Kamakura, the stream to the east is the river Nameri-kawa, the main road to the west is the Wakamiyaoji, the swamp or sea to the south is the beach of Yui-ga-hama, and the mountain to the north is the Mount Daijin. It is said that this principle of 'befitting the four gods' was also adopted as fundamental in the town plans of urbanized places such as Edo (present-day Tokyo) and Hiraizum in Iwate prefecture (an ancient city in the northern part of Japan).

Stratified structure of towns

Thus, we can say that the principle of 'befitting the four gods' had a decisive influence on the shape and location of Japanese towns, but it also greatly affected their actual layout, leading to a stratified structure with their important buildings being erected with their backs towards the mountains and in an order beginning at the higher levels, continuing down to the lowest. As is shown on the conceptual map of Kamakura[1] (see Plate Section) around the middle of the thirteenth century, the Tsuru-ga-oka Hachimangū shrine (it had been a temple from 1180 to 1867, so we should call it Tsuru-ga-oka Hachimangū temple at that time), the shogunal court, and the residences of the powerful elite, beginning with the shogun's regents, were erected to the northern side of the Ni-no-torii gate of the Tsuru-ga-oka Hachimangū shrine. In the lower parts to the south of the Ni-no-torii gate lay the properties of the common people and merchants, and at the beach – the lowest part of the town – we find the market-place and the graveyards. In a way, this structure resembles the tiered hina-doll platforms that are displayed on 3 March in Japanese houses. The dolls, representing the imperial household, are arranged in a strict order from the emperor and the empress on the top level of the platform with their attendants down to their musicians on the lower shelves. Therefore, I sometimes call the structure of medieval Japanese towns, a 'hina-platform shape'.

Kamakura New Buddhism and medieval towns

Let us now consider a unique characteristic of medieval Japanese towns, which is to be found in the existence of the temples of the new school of Kamakura Buddhism. During Japan's Middle Ages, these temples came to surround the towns – so we can call this a distinctive feature of medieval Japanese towns. As we have already seen, opinion remains divided as to what exactly 'Kamakura New Buddhism' actually was, but I think of it simply as follows.

When we look closely into the structure and activities of the priests of Japan's Middle Ages, we find that they fall into two groups, namely the official priests or *kansō*, and the reclusive priests or *tonseisō*. The Buddhism that the official priests practised was the so-called Old Buddhism, while the reclusive priests advocated Kamakura New Buddhism. The official priests were a group that were entitled to pray for the protection of the state (and for 'Great Peace in the Country' or *tenka taihei* 天下泰平). They were granted priestly ranks and offices, and they took part in Buddhist ceremonies that were sponsored by the emperor; in short, they made up a stratified group of what we could regard as bureaucrat-priests. These official priests carried on the tradition from the ancient period, who befited from the fact that they were granted permission from the emperor to enter the priesthood, and they became fully-fledged priests by receiving the Buddhist precepts on one of the state-sponsored precepts-platforms. These ceremonies were more or less similar to graduation ceremonies at today's universities. Moreover, women could not formally become nuns. Furthermore, it should be noted that their representative surplice (robe) or *kesa* was white – a point that I will return to in more detail later.

On the other hand, the orders in the group of reclusive priests arose around priests that had seceded from their official status, and they devised an ordination and initiation system of their own, being unrelated to the emperor. As their typical surplice they wore a black robe. Judging from the contents of the precepts that they received, some of these orders permitted marriage. Women were also formally ordained as nuns. To make a long story short, unlike the official priests the reclusive priests existed independ-

ently of the emperor, and they founded orders based on faith and with lay believers as constituent members. In those days, they were all called reclusive priests. In concrete terms, these were the religious orders that took priests such as Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1263), Nichiren 日蓮 (1222-82), Eisai 栄西 (1141–1215), Dōgen 道元 (1200–53), Ippen 一遍 (1239-89), Myōe 明恵 (1173-1232), Eizon 叡尊 (1201–90) and Echin 恵鎮 (1281–1356) as their founders.

Among the innovations in the activities of the reclusive priests, we have their attendance at funerals, the salvation of lepers, the salvation of women and their activities for religious fund-raising. These activities were, in fact, restricted when the official priests tried to conduct them. These restrictions implied that, in serving the emperor – who was the central being and who was to remain pure – the official priests, too, were required to remain pure, and they had to avoid defilement. Their purity was also expressed by the fact that their surplices were white, the symbolic colour of purity. As I mentioned earlier, their attendance at funerals, the salvation of lepers and women, and their activities for religious fund-raising were all connected with impurity. Funeral services were related to the impurity of death, and lepers were considered to be the most defiled beings. Moreover, women were actually thought to be impure beings too. Likewise, through the activities of religious fund-raising, one was considered to have come in contact with defilement. However, the reclusive priests adopted a positive stance towards all these activities that were related to impurity. It was precisely from such restrictions imposed on the official priests that the reclusive priests freed themselves, enabling them to conduct activities that were related to impurity. In my opinion, this was also expressed by the fact that they wore black surplices – black symbolizing defilement.

I should mention at this point that there are differing opinions. There are scholars who claim that the orders of the reclusive monks of Kamakura New Buddhism schools were not fully established during the Kamakura period and that they played only a minor role in the religious life of the period. Their argument is based on the claim that the schools of Shinran (one of Hōnen's schools) and Nichiren were representative of Kamakura New Buddhism schools, and as such were far less dominant than the

Old Buddhist orders during the Kamakura period. In short, they believe that the orders of the reclusive monks played only a minor role during the period. I believe it is possible that one of the criteria they use to define the new schools is the fact that these two schools were persecuted by the government. But actually, these two schools were numerically inferior to a number of other schools which far better represent the term 'Kamakura New Buddhism'.

There were indeed new Buddhist orders that were far more dominant in the latter part of the Kamakura period than the Shinran and Nichiren schools. These were the Nembutsu schools, that esteemed Hōnen as their founder, and the Shinran school was just one of them, which thought the *nenbutsu*, that is the chanting of '*Namu Amidabutsu*' was the best way to be reborn in the Pure Land; in addition, there were the Zen schools which thought that zen, or meditation, was the best way to attain buddhahood and the Ritsu schools, which esteemed the observance of the *ritsu*, or precepts, as essential in order to attain buddhahood. All three groups became more and more dominant in the latter part of the Kamakura period.

In particular, the Zen and Ritsu schools were recognized by the Kamakura shogunate, even by the imperial court in Kyoto, to the extent of being financially supported by them. This recognition came about in part because of the respect felt towards the activities of some of their priests. One important point to note is that the Ritsu school had over 100,000 believers during the Kamakura period, when the entire population of Kyoto was only 120,000. So, I would argue that the Zen and Ritsu schools were more representative of Kamakura New Buddhism schools, and, as such, played an important role during this period.

Temples of Kamakura New Buddhism

In speaking of the relationship between the temples of Kamakura New Buddhism and the ordinary people in towns, it will not suffice simply to state that these temples existed in the medieval towns. It is also necessary to consider their location and role. First of all, when we focus on their location, the fact that the temples of Kamakura New Buddhism were erected on the fringes of towns should be mentioned. The representative towns

of Nara, Kamakura and the capital Heian, each had a central area by the name of Nara-*chū*, Kamakura-*chū* and Raku-*chū* – the character *chū* or *naka* standing for 'centre'. These were wards with a special administration, run by specially chosen individuals who enjoyed a privileged position and rewards. For example, medieval Nara had Narazaka and Hannyaji in the north, Nishisaka and Fusaka in the west, Tanzaka and Byakugōji in the east, and the rivers Noto and Iwai in the south as its borders, and on the inside Nara-*chū* made up the central area. Then, we should note that in the borderland between this central area of Nara and its outer sides, temples existed such as Hannyaji in the north, Byakugōji in the south-east, Mikenji in the north-west, and Daianji in the south-west. These temples were related to one of the orders of Kamakura New Buddhism, namely the order of Eizon of the Ritsu- or precepts-school. Also at the four town borders of medieval Kamakura, temples of the Zen and Precepts orders of Kamakura New Buddhism were constructed. To be more precise: in the north-west we had the Zen-temples Kenchōji and Engakuji, in the south-west we had the Gokurakuji precepts-temple, in the north-east we had the Shōmyōji precepts-temple, and in the south-east the precepts-temple of Manpukuji – the forerunner of Kōmyōji – existed. In short, temples of the new schools were located at the borders of the towns. In contrast, the temples of Old Buddhism were located in the centre of the towns; the Tsuru-ga-oka Hachimangū shrine was situated in the centre of Kamakura and Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji existed in the centre of Nara. Why were the new schools temples located in this particular way?

Purification of defilement

The temples of the new schools did not merely occupy themselves with the spiritual salvation of the ordinary people in towns, but they took an extremely important function upon themselves with regard to the maintenance of the towns, namely, they supported the funeral services – the funerals for the dead and the purification of the defilement of death. As I mentioned earlier, the impurity of death was one of the defilements. People who had come in contact with death, abstained from participation in

ceremonies at the imperial court and from religious services until they had regained their purity. For example, the Procedures of the Engi Era, the *Engishiki* of 927, required that the abstention period in case of death defilement was thirty days. Of course, defilement was not only caused by the impurity of death, but also through such things as childbirth and eating meat; however, death defilement was the gravest one. Whether it was in Nara or in Kamakura, the temples of the new schools did not avoid defilement and conducted funeral services. Thus, in a manner of speaking, one could say that they adopted the role of purifying a town's defilement.

Emergence of individuals

Let us now consider why Kamakura New Buddhism made its appearance when it did. As for the reason why it was able to form religious orders only from the end of the twelfth century onwards, one can point to the fact that from about this time, the numbers of people in the towns became so large that they could not be disregarded any longer. Activities such as religious fund-raising and the salvation of lepers, which characterize Kamakura New Buddhism, are issues that are peculiar to urbanized places. For example, religious fund-raising was held at bridges, city gates, or ferry crossings, and it is conceivable that the salvation of lepers became an issue because they congregated at towns and developed into a social problem. Moreover, most of the founders spread their teachings in the capital of Heian or in Kamakura, establishing their religious orders there first. In this way, we can say that Kamakura New Buddhism and the urbanized areas were intimately linked. Towns were also the places where people came to understand the concept of 'the individual'. The Middle Ages was an era in which the urban centres expanded greatly, as is shown by the growth of the capital Heian as a city of commerce, and the establishment of the city of Kamakura in Kantō; in turn, they produced many troubled 'individuals'. The meaning of 'individual' in the medieval period is not, of course, the same as the concept of the modern or contemporary 'individual': however, medieval 'individual' consciousness and suffering must

have been similar to that experienced by modern people when they first arrived in towns and cities from rural villages.

Notes

[1] Kenji Matsuo, *Chūsei Toshi Kamakura no Fūkei* (Tokyo:Yoshikawakōbunkan, 1993), Kenji Matsuo, *Chūsei Toshi wo Aruku* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1997), Kenji Matsuo, *Chūsei no Toshi to Hinin* (Kyōto:Hōzōankan,1998). Kenji Matsuo, *Kamakura Koji wo Aruku* (Tokyo:Yoshikawakō bunkan, 2005).

CHAPTER 5

FIELDWORK IN KAMAKURA



TODAY, KAMAKURA IS a tourist city with a population of about 170,000 (which is the 131st among the 725 cities in Japan). During the Kamakura period (1185–1333), however, the city ranked as second in Japan and was specifically the centre of the samurai world. One of the epoch-making events in Japanese history was the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate (a samurai regime) by Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–99). Until that time, the political, economic and cultural powers had been concentrated solely in Heian-Kyō where the emperor resided. Minamoto Yoritomo, however, mobilized the samurai and established a military regime at Kamakura, making the Kantō region the political centre. Members of the Minamoto and the Hōjō clans controlled the Kamakura regime until 1225. The administration was managed mainly by regents who supported the shoguns. The Hōjō was the family from which Yoritomo's wife, Masako 政子 (1157–1225), had come.

Thus, the Minamoto clan and the Hōjō clan respectively played a very significant role in the Kamakura shogunate, which resulted in the construction of many temples associated with the two clans. This is because in those days religion and politics were closely (if not, inseparably) related. The Hōjō family had built four important temples – Kenchōji, Engakuji, Kōmyōji and Gokurakuji, while Minamoto Yoritomo founded Tsurugaoka Hachimangū.

The 'Great Buddha' of Kamakura

The 'Great Buddha', or Daibutsu, sits in the precincts of the Kōtokuin Temple, known officially as 'Daiisan-Kōtokuin-Shōjōsenji', which is a temple of the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect of Buddhism. The present Kamakura Daibutsu is a statue of Amitābha Buddha with a height of 11.36 metres and a gross weight of 121 tonnes. Although made of bronze and gold, it is not shining gold because the green rust which covers the statue makes it look blue-green to our eyes. The Daibutsu is a very striking image, partly because it is slightly hunched forward, which, according to sculpture historians, indicates the influence of the typical style of the statue of Amitābha Buddha produced in Song Dynasty China. The statue of the Kamakura Buddha is also indicative of the close relationship between China and Japan that existed in those days.

The Kamakura Daibutsu, unlike the Tōdaiji Daibutsu, is not placed in a Daibutsu-den, or the building for great Buddha statues. It just sits there exposed to the elements. Naturally, when originally built, the Daibutsu sat in a Daibutsu-den. Initially, the official name of the temple was 'Daibutsu-den' and there was no other building that belonged to the temple except the Daibutsu-den for housing the statute of the Amitābha Buddha. After the destruction of the Daibutsu-den by the tsunami caused by the Meiō earthquake of 1498 (Meiō 7), the building was never rebuilt, and the Daibutsu has remained exposed to the elements ever since. Yuten of the Shiba Zōjōji in Edo directed repair work in the eighteenth century, but the Daibutu-den was never reconstructed.

It was the twenty-third day of the third month of 1238 (Rekinin 1), when a Buddhist monk named Jōkō began the *kanjin* campaign (religious fund-raising through public donations) and initiated the construction of the Kamakura Daibutsu.

The Daibutsu sits in a place called Fukazawa, and the valley where the Daibutsu is situated used to be called the Daibutsu-ga-yatsu (Daibutsu valley), located on the western boundary of Kamakura. The boundary areas at that time were a hellish place, where corpses were scattered and gravely ill men and beggars lurked. Many refugees gathered there in times of famine. For example, during the great famine of 1274 (Bun-ei 11), a large

number of hungry people and refugees gathered in the Daibutsu-ga-yatsu. Ninshō (1217–1303), a Buddhist monk of Gokurakuji of the Ritsu sect, gave out bowls of rice gruel to refugees in the Daibutsu-ga-yatsu for more than fifty days.

For us in the modern era who are deeply influenced by modern rationalism, the Daibutsu is just another designated national treasure. However, to the people of those days, the Daibutsu was the Buddha Himself (the power of Buddha itself) who with His mighty existence intimidates and drives away invisible monsters and evil spirits. Kamakura at that time was relatively well populated and served as a kind of 'capital', and the people believed that in proportion to the larger population there were many monsters and evil spirits, active and constantly planning to invade the city. People further believed that famines, pests and extraordinary natural phenomena were the work of monsters and evil spirits. That was why the Buddha, who was expected to protect people, had to be enormous.

Fukazawa was located on the western boundary of the region. Accordingly, the Kamakura Daibutsu occupies an appropriate spot for a statue of the Amitābha Buddha who is the primary figure of the Pure Land, or Amida's paradise, in the West. It seems that the purpose of the construction of Kamakura Daibutsu was to pray for peace and security of the Kantō region by building a statue of Amitābha Buddha, who is the *honji* (the original bodhisattva who appears as a deity to save the people) of the Hachiman Daibosatsu (Hachiman is the Shintō deity of war who became associated with the great bodhisattva, or Daibosatsu), modelled on the Tōdaiji Daibutsu, based on a order given to Jōkō while he was asleep in Shadan (the main building) of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū.

The roof-raising ceremony of the Daibutsu-den was held on the twenty-seventh day of the third month of 1241 (Ninji 2). The statue of the Amitābha Buddha with a height of more than 8 *jō* (Actually, about 4 *jō*, or 11.36 metres as it is a sitting statue.) was completed by sixteenth day of the sixth month of 1243 (Kangen 1). Please note, however, that this particular statue was made of wood. Then, the construction of a statue of the Amitābha Buddha made of bronze and gold began on the seventeenth day of the eighth month of 1252 (Kenchō 4).

The statue erected on this occasion was made of bronze and gold, which is believed to be the statue we see today. That is, the existing Kamakura Daibutsu is made of bronze and gold, but the original Daibutsu was made of wood. In other words, they erected two statues. The reason why is not clear.

Traditionally, it was widely accepted that a wooden statue was made as the prototype for making a bronze and gold statue right from the beginning. It makes no sense at all, however, that they take the trouble of building a Daibutsu-den if the wooden statue was just a prototype for making a bronze and gold statue. Accordingly, today the view which is more prevalent, argues that for some reason the wooden Daibutsu statue was destroyed and a bronze and gold substitute was erected to replace it. It is not precisely known when the bronze and gold statue was completed. It is presumed that the year was either 1262 (Kōchō 2) or 1264 (Bun-ei 1).

Both the wooden Daibutsu and the bronze and gold Daibutsu were completed by Jōkō, a *nenbutsu-sō* (monks who do *nenbutsu* on the occasion of various observances), serving as the head fund-raiser and gathering donations from a wide array of people helped by support from the Kamakura shogunate. *Nenbutsu-sō* monks were Jōdo sect monks who were indirect disciples of Hōnen, the founder of the Jōdo sect who claimed that by reciting *nenbutsu* (to chant '*Namu Amidabutsu*'), people could be guaranteed birth in the Pure Land. The main figure in the *kanjin* campaign of gathering donations from the public (*daikanjin*) for the erection of the Tōdaiji Daibutsu in Nara was Chōgen, while in the case of the Kamakura Daibutsu, Jōkō played mostly the same role as Chōgen.

Moreover, what is important is that the operation was one of the main projects officially recognized by the Kamakura shogunate. Just as the construction projects for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics led to the partial renovation of the city of Tokyo, the construction works of the Kenchōji, the Engakuji, the Daibutsu and others were a series of big projects in the middle of the thirteenth century, which triggered the inflow of skilled workers and commodities into Kamakura, resulting in a major renovation of the Kamakura area. It was natural that the shogunate offered assistance to the projects, and cooperated in the construction of

the Daibutsu, and in the end the ultimate custodial right of the Daibutsu was put in the hands of the shogun. The above-mentioned Ninshō was designated (appointed) as Betto (the top responsible official) for the Daibutsu in 1284 (Kōan 7).

We do not know much about Jōkō. Jōkō was a nenbutsu-sō. But it must be noted that he was not a specialized nenbutsu-so who believed and claimed that only the *nenbutsu* (to chant '*Namu amida butsu*') was the right practice chosen by Amida and just the reciting of *nenbutsu* would enable people attain birth in the Pure Land. Instead, he was a *nenbutsu-sō* who was flexible about accepting other practices, including adhering to the precepts. In Kamakura in those days, the specialized *nenbutsu-so* failed to achieve much influence within the community.

In the meantime, in 1284, as we have seen, Ninshō became the Daibutsu Betto, who was responsible for the management of the Daibutsu, which means that Ninshō was responsible for repairs. In the days when Ninshō took responsibility for repairing the Daibutsu, there was a Ritsu-sect nunnery called Daibutsu (Chisoku) Amadera near where the Daibutsu was located.

It is interesting to recall here that there have been two major findings in a recent excavation and research projects. One is that there is a strong possibility that the wooden Daibutsu and the bronze and gold Daibutsu were produced in different locations. This is based on the fact that the remains of the wooden Daibutsu have not been found under the bronze and gold Daibutsu. The other finding is that the roof of the Daibutsu-den was not made of tiles but made of the bark of Japanese cypress or persimmon. This is because no tiles have been found in the excavation.

Kōmyōji

Kōmyōji boasts the largest structure in Kamakura. The official name is Tenshōzan Renge-in Kōmyōji. It is the headquarters of the Chinzei school 鎮西義 of the Jōdo sect. Kōmyōji prospered in the Edo period as the top one of the eighteen monastic schools 檀林 of the Jōdo sect in the Kantō region designated by Tokugawa Ieyasu. The temple was also the family temple for the Naitōs, the owner of the Nobeoka Castle in Hyūga (present-day

Miyazaki prefecture), and is famous for the Taima Mandara Engi (a picture scroll created in the Kamakura period), one of the national treasures of Japan, which was donated by the Naito family in 1675 (Enpo 3).

The legend of the temple says that the founder of the temple was Hōjō Tsunetoki 北条経時 (1224–46) and the founding priest was Ryōchū 良忠 (1199–1287), but the history of Kōmyōji is full of mysteries. Even the date of erection is not clearly known. There are currently two major opinions as to who was the founder of the temple: one view says it has Hōjō Tsunetoki and the other says it was Osaragi (Hōjō) Tomonao 大仏朝直 (1206–64), the latter being more widely accepted.

It is generally believed that Ryōchū (Priest Ryōchū Nen-a 然阿弥陀仏) of the Jōdo sect moved from Shimousa (present-day Chiba Prefecture) to Kamakura in 1260 (Shōgen 2) and built Goshinji in Sasuke, which was renamed first as Rengeji and then Kōmyōji. The earliest date the name Kōmyōji appears in an official document is the year 1495 (Meiō 4). A document entitled '*Ryō Gyō Jutsu Mon Fuku Bun*' ('Kōmyōji Document') dated 1325 (Shōchū 2) says, 'Hon-Goshinji in Sasukegayatsu is now named Rengeji', which indicates that the temple was called Rengeji in 1325. Accordingly, there was a temple called Rengeji located in Sasukegayatsu at the end of the Kamakura period. It can be assumed that the founder of the Goshinji, or the predecessor of Kōmyōji, was Osaragi Tomonao. Then, when was it that Kōmyōji was moved to Zaimokuza? The exact year is not known either.

When you walk from Kōmyōji to Kotsubo with Wakae-ato on your right, you will find Sumiyoshizan Goshin-in Shōgakuji near the ruins of the Sumiyoshi Castle. According to the legend of the temple, it was here that Ryōchū was cremated. If Ryōchū was actually cremated in Goshin-in Shōgakuji, Shōgakuji was probably built as the burial ground of Ryōchū who died in the seventh month of 1287 (Kōan 10). It is possible that the original Goshinji was renamed Rengeji, because the burial ground of Ryōchū was newly named Goshin-in.

Now, what should be specifically noted here is the stone statue of Jizō Bosatsu that stands in the precincts of Kōmyōji. It was previously located in a cave in front of the Daiichi Junior High

School at the mountain of Kōmyōji. A building for worship was there in the cave until 1868, but as the side of the mountain was cut back, the stone statue of Jizō Bosatsu that had been enshrined there was relocated to the precincts of Kōmyōji.

The statue, which is 86.5 centimetres high, is made of andesite and stands on a pedestal made of a different kind of stone. It is backed with a boat-shaped panel of aureole, which was added in later years, with some inscribed letters, including a letter of the Sanskrit alphabet representing Amida Nyorai (Amida Shuji). The inscription on the Jizō statue reads as follows:

> I respectfully state
> That I am honoured to have built this statue of Jizō [Bosatsu]
> Based on the order and wish of Priest Kyōgi 教義 (n.d.) (dwelling) in Manpukuji with Sairen belonging to Shōyōji served as Kanjin Hijiri [fund-raising master]
> The purpose is the security of the related public on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of the second year of Shōchū, which is the year of Ox by Busshi [Buddha Statue Artist] Seia 西阿 (n.d.).

From the above inscription, we know that the statue of Jizō was completed in the ninth month of 1325 (Shōchū 2), with Sairen of Shōyōji serving as Kanjin Hijiri (the person in charge of the gathering of donations), according to the wish of Kyōgi of Manpukuji. Manpukuji, which the wisher mentioned in the inscription belongs, has not attracted much attention, but one can readily assume that it was where the Jizō was enshrined. Although the legend of the temple says that the Jizō used to be enshrined in a cave, it does not say that it had been relocated from another temple. Therefore, it can be assumed that there used to be a temple named Manpukuji in this location before the relocation of Kōmyōji.

On the other hand, it is known that there had been a Manpukuji (pronounced the same but written with different Chinese characters), which might be one of the subsidiary temples of Gokurakuji in Wakae until 1347 (Jōwa 3) ('Kamakura Haiji Jiten' – Reference book of abolished temples in Kamakura.) Therefore, it is assumed that Manpukuji, one of the subsidiary temples of Gokurakuji, used to stand where Kōmyōji stands today until the relocation of the latter.

It is a well known fact that since the days of Ninshō Gokurakuji

had held the right of control and maintenance of Wakaetsu and the right of sanctuary of Maehama and had the rights confirmed by Ashikaga Takauji in 1349 (Jōwa 5). Moreover, it is known that Gokurakuji, in return for their duties concerning the control and maintenance of Wakaetsu, collected rice as transit duties at the checking station in Wakaetsu. Therefore, it can be assumed that Manpukuji, a subsidiary temple of Gokurakuji, was standing as an outpost for the control and maintenance of Wakaetsu until 1349 (Jōwa 5), in the location where Kōmyōji stands now, which suggests that Kōmyōji was moved to the present site after 1349 (Jōwa 5).

Sōban Nenbutsu

They beat a drum and percussion instruments called *soubangane*, while they recite '*Namu Amidabutsu*'. The performance is carried out during the Buddhist service of Jū-ya-e (these days held between 12 and 16 October). Jū-ya-e originally meant 'the Buddhist service delivered for ten days and ten nights', in which they stayed in the main hall for ten days and recited *Namu Amidabutsu*. The Buddhist sutra called '*Muryōjukyō*' (one of the three major sutras of the Jōdo sect) states that 'A ten-day-ten-night-long good deed in this world is superior to a thousand-year-long good deed in the other world.' The performance was started in the Muromachi period, which reached Kōmyōji in Kamakura at the end of the fifteenth century and was made one of the observances of the Jōdo sect.

Tsurugaoka Hachimangū

The existing Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine is a major tourist attraction located in the centre of Kamakura. The shrine gets packed with worshippers especially during the year-end and New Year holidays. However, before the Meiji Restoration, when the new government split Buddhism from Shintō, Tsurugaoka Hachimangū was called 'Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji (shrine temple)', a temple that had both the Shintō and the Buddhist elements and contained a shrine temple where Shintō priests and Buddhist priests lived together in their respective areas.

Besides, a monk called either a *shamu* 社務 or a *bettō* 別当 was the senior manager, which means that the Buddhists had more power. It was because in those days it was generally believed that Shintō deities were more transient manifestations of Buddhist divinities, which concept was called Shinbutsu-Shūgo. For example, people at that time believed that the *honji* of Hondawake-no-kami (former Emperor Ōjin), the main deity of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, was Amida.

Accordingly, many Buddhist facilities were to be found there, including Niō-mon (gate for the two Deva kings), Daitō (big tower), Rinzō (sutra library) and others, and Buddhist rituals such as *Hōjō-e* (an observance in which creatures that had been caught were freed) were performed in Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji until the Meiji Restoration. Monks were sometimes called *gusō*, and in its heyday, the enrolment limit of fully-fledged *gusō*s was twenty-five. *Gusō*s lived in the back of the Shrine Temple, where there were buildings collectively called *Nijū-go-bō* (twenty-five dwelling houses), including 'Jigetsu-bō'.

However, based on the segregation order of Buddhism from Shintō announced in 1868 (Meiji 1), Daitō and Rinzō were removed by 1870 (Meiji 3). The Niō (the Deva king) statues in the Niō-mon are now stored in Jufukuji. Thus, the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū before the Meiji period looked quite different from the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū we see today.

In addition, *Gosho* (*Ōkura Gosho* 大倉御所), or the dwelling of the shogun, was located to the east of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū. The positioning means a lot and serves as one of the premises in understanding Tsurugaoka Hachimangū in medieval Japan, especially, in the Kamakura period. As mentioned before, people at that time believed that the *honji* of Hondawake-no-kami, the main deity of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, was Amida. Therefore, it was essential that Tsurugaoka Hachimangū was located to the west of Gosho.

Minamoto Yoritomo entered Kamakura on the seventh day of the tenth month of 1180 (Jishō 4) and on the twelfth day of the same month, he relocated Iwashimizu Hachiman-shin (present-day Moto Hachiman), which Minamoto Yoriyoshi 源頼義 (988–1075), one of his ancestors, secretly relocated and

enshrined, to Kitayama in Kobayashi-gō, or where the deity is currently enshrined, only five days after he entered Kamakura.

Hachiman-shin (deity of eight banderoles) was originally the guardian deity of the Usa family and believed to be the *suijhaku-shin* (deity in disguise) of Emperor Ojin. Hachiman-shin was also the cereal spirit and the deity of copper production in people's belief and gave the oracle instructions to assist the construction of the Daibutsu in cooperation with the government on the occasion of the casting of the Tōdaiji Daibutsu. Later in 860 (Jōgan 2), Priest Gyōkyō 行教 (n.d.) relocated and enshrined the deity from Usa to Iwashimizu, which was the founding of Iwashimizu Hachimangū.

On the twelfth day of the tenth month of 1180 (Jishō 4), Yoritomo appointed Ryōsen 良暹 (n.d.) of Izu-Sōtōsan (who had just arrived in Kamakura one day before the relocation), as the temporary *bettō* and further appointed Ōba Kageyoshi 大庭景義 (d.1210) *bugyō* (magistrate) in charge of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū. This was the start of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Wakamiya (the original shrine relocated to another place). On the fourth day of the twelfth month of the same year, Ajayari (Acarya) Jōken 定兼 (n.d.) was designated as monk who belonged to Tsurugaoka Hachimangū (refered to as *gusō*) for the first time.

On the fifteenth day of the third month of 1182 (Juei 1), Minamoto Yoritomo began building an approach road straight from the front of the shrine to Yuigahama Beach under his own direction, in order to ensure easy access for his wife Hōjō Masako. This was the start of the construction of Wakamiya Ōji (boulevard).

Moreover, in the ninth month of the same year, Engyō 円堯 (n.d.) was invited as the first official *bettō* from Onjōji (sometimes called Miidera). In *Azumakagami* (the official record compiled by the Kamakura shogunate), Engyō is explained as 'the grandson (son of the son) of Prince Sukehito of Gosanjōin and grandson (son of the daughter) of Mutsunokami Minamoto Ason) Yoshiie', but *Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shamushiki Shidai* (Brief history of the officials of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū) describes Engyō as 'the grandson (son of the son) of Prince Sukehito, son of *hōgen* (high-ranking monk) Gyōe 行恵 (n.d.), disciple of Gyōgyō 行暁 (n.d.) *hōin* (monk ranked higher than

Hogen), and mothered by the daughter of Rokujō-*hōga*n Tameyoshi 源為義 (1096–1156)', which means that Engyō was one of the cousins of Minamoto Yoritomo. Yoritomo specifically appointed his cousin the first official *bettō* of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū and the shrine was designated the guardian shrine of the Genji Clan.

Family Tree

Yoshiie-Tameyoshi-Yoshitomo-Yoritomo
daughter - | Engyō

Thus, Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine was developed with Wakamiya at its centre.

However, due to the fire that occurred in the third month of 1191 (Kenkyū 2), Iwashimizu Hachiman-shin was formally relocated to the hillside of a mountain in the eleventh month of the same year. Up until that time, Minamoto Yoritomo had relocated the deity without the imperial court's permission. This was the occasion when *hongū* (original shrine) was constructed. This became the master form of Hachimangū, consisting of *wakamiya* and *hongū*. Thus, the annual observances and the structure of Hachimangū were mostly completed around this time, i.e. in or around 1191.

Furthermore, in the twelfth month of 1191, Ōtomo Kiyomoto 大伴清元 (n.d.) was appointed Kannushi (the guardian of the shrine), and thereafter, members of the Ōtomo family assumed the post of Kannushi by heredity. The Kannushi was in charge of *hōhei* (to offer presents to deities and *sangu* (to put away the presents). Thus, the organization as a shrine kept steadily improving.

As described above, Tsurugaoka Hachimangū started as the guardian temple (shrine) of the Genji clan. However, the Genji clan's rule, assuming the position of shogun, lasted for only three generations until 1219 (Jōkyū 1), and Tsurugaoka Hachimangū transformed accordingly to become the shrine of the Kamakura shogunate.

Kenchōji

Kenchōji is a Zen temple, which Hōjō Tokiyori started by appointing Lanqi Daolong 蘭渓道隆 (J.: Rankei Dōryū,

1213–78), a Zen monk who came to Japan from Sung Dynasty China as the priest. The construction of the temple began in 1249 (Kenchō 1) and completed in 1253 (Kenchō 5).

The reasons for the construction of the temple were to ensure the longevity of the emperor, long happy years for the shogun and high-ranking shogunate officials, and peace in Japan, as well as the peaceful resting of the souls of the three generations of the Minamoto family, Hōjō Masako, and other deceased Hōjō family members.

Because the temple bears the name of the era (the official posthumous name of respective emperors) when it was founded suggests that Kenchōji was given the status of a temple built by imperial command, and has commanded the No.1 position in the *Gozan* System (the No.1 among the five great Zen temples in Kamakura), or the Zen temple-ranking system. The *Gozan* system is a system of ranking Zen temples, which was started at the end of the Kamakura period, modelled on a similar system in China. The *Gozan* included great temples in Kyoto and Kamakura with several member changes and improvements during the Muromachi period. There has not been any member change since 1386 and the Kamakura *Gozan* has consisted of: Kenchōji ranked first; Engakuji ranked second; Jufukuji ranked third; Jōchiji ranked fourth; and Jōmyōji ranked fifth. In other words, Kenchōji commanded the highest position among the Zen temples in Kamakura and enjoyed the shogunate's high patronage.

The main object of worship is a statue of Jizō Bosatsu (Kṣitigarbha: Bodhisattva), which is in charge of educating and helping people. It is 1 *jō* 6 *shaku* (4.8 metres) tall. Furthermore, 1,000 Jizō statuettes are enshrined in Kenchōji. The site where Kenchōji is located was once a place for the execution of criminals called Jigoku-dani (Hell valley) and a temple called Shinpeiji was there with a Jizō statue as the main object of worship. As Jizō was believed to help even those who went to hell after execution, they made the statue the main object of worship for the souls of the executed. The construction of this temple was a breakthrough in the history of the Zen sect in Japan. The outstanding feature of the conventional Zen sect had been that it was learned in addition to esoteric Buddhism. The construction triggered the

establishment and spread of Zen in its purer form, that is closer to the one which originated in China.

No building built in the Kamakura period has survived at Kenchōji. The Sōmon (main gate), sometimes called Kofukumon (gate of great happiness), was originally built as the hall for Hanshu-Sanmaiin in Kyoto in 1783 (Tenmei 3) and relocated to its present position in 1943 (Shōwa 18). The two-storeyed Sōmon standing in front of you as you enter the premises was rebuilt in 1775 (An-ei 4). On the second floor of the gate are the statue of Shaka (Śākyamuni) and the statuettes of five-hundred Rakans (Buddha's disciples). The Butsuden (main hall) was originally constructed in 1628 (Kan-ei 5) in Shiba Zōjōji in Edo as the mausoleum of Sougen-in, the wife of Tokugawa Hidetada, the second shogun of the Tokugawa shogunate, and brought to Kamakura in 1647 (Shōhō 4).

In order to take a closer look at the temple grounds of medieval Japan, let us consider the Kenchōji Keidai Ezu (pictorial map of the premises of Kenchōji). The pictorial map (with the names of the buildings and the numbers representing the order of their construction) was donated by Mito Mitsukuni in the eleventh month of 1678 (Enpo 6), according to a note on the map. Feeling that it was regrettable that most of the *tacchū*s (minor temples) that once totalled forty-nine in number had been destroyed and the number of people who knew where respective buildings had stood decreased, Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628–1700) ordered artists to draw a map and donated the completed map to Oshō (priest) Keidō 渓堂 (n.d.) for the possible reconstruction of Kenchōji in later years.

The map shows the spectacular scenery of the major buildings, including Sanmon, Hattō, Butsuden and forty-nine *tattchū*, as well as other Zen temples like Ankokuji, Chōjuji and Mankōji standing side by side in the valleys in the premises of Kenchōji and along Kamegayatsu-michi and other highways through the mountains. In addition, the map shows private houses crammed in front of the main gate of the temple, which indicates that there once existed a huge temple town of Kenchōji.

The bell of Kenchōji has been designated as a national treasure. It has an inscription that says 'the seventh year of Kenchō (1255)'. The bell was cast by Mononobe Shigemitsu.

Sairaian of Kenchōji is the graveyard of Lanqi Daolong. Sairaian was founded in 1278 (Kōan 1), when Lanqi Daolong died. The *Shōdō*, which is a building that connects the residence of Zen monks and the WC, was rebuilt in 1458 (the third year of Chōroku).

Engakuji

Engakuji is a Zen temple founded in 1282 (Kōan 5) with Wuxue Zuyuan 無学祖元 (J.: Mugaku Sogen; 1226–1286), who came to Japan in 1279 (Kōan 2), serving as the founding priest.

Engakuji is currently the highest ranked temple of the Engakuji school of the Rinzai sect. More specifically, its official name is Zuirokuzan (alias for shrine) Engaku Kōshō Zenji. The temple was founded by Hōjō Tokimune in order to pray for the repose of those who died during the Mongolian invasion. The temple ranked second in the Kamakura *Gozan* system in the Muromachi period. The enrolment limit of monks was 200 in the Kamakura period, which increased to 400 in the Muromachi period.

Engakuji has lost most of the buildings built in medieval times due to frequent wars and earthquakes – just like other temples and shrines located in Kamakura and elsewhere in Japan.

Even its Shariden (a hall dedicated to the ashes of Shaka), a national treasure, is the relocated guest-house of Taihei Amadera (nunnery) (the nunnery has already been abolished) rebuilt at the end of the fifteenth century.

Sanmon

Sanmon symbolizes the three gates for deliverance from earthly bondage (*Kū* 空/*Musō* 無相/*Mugan* 無願 (concentrated and stable state of mind) that lead to the sanctum after liberation from various obsessions *nehan* (nirvāṇa) / *gedatsu* (deliverance)). When you are inside Sanmon, you must separate yourself from the earthly world and worship the Butsuden (the main object of worship) with a clean mind. The present Sanmon is the one rebuilt by Daiyō Kokushi in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the founding of the temple in 1785 (Tenmei 5). The horizontal plaque that says 'Engaku Kōshō Zenji' was presented by ex-emperor Fushimi 伏見上皇 (1265–1317).

Butsuden

This is the building where the main object of worship of Engakuji is enshrined. It was totally destroyed in the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923, but rebuilt in 1964 (Shōwa 39). As the Shaka Nyorai statue, the *Honzon*, wears a crown on its head, it is called Hōkan (crowned) Shaka Nyorai. The horizontal plaque of 'Daikōmyō Hōden' was presented by Emperor Gokōgon 後光厳天皇 (1338–74). The white dragon painted on the ceiling is the work of Seiton Maeda, a famous artist, and his apprentices, including Tadashi Moriya.

Butsunichi-an

Butsunichi-an is the graveyard of Hōjō Tokimune 時宗 (1251–84), Sadatoki 貞時 (1271–1311) and Takatoki 高時 (1303–33), who were the major patrons of Engakuji. Tokimune died on the fourth day of the fourth month of 1284 (Kōan 7). Butsunichi-an was built after the death of Tokimune and rebuilt in 1811 (Bunka 8) in the Edo period, which is believed to be the Butsunichi-an as we see it today. According to the legend of the temple in '*Shinpen Sagami Fudoki* (New Version Regional Record of Sagami),' stone boxes that house the respective remains of the above three are placed under the hall.

Shōzoku-in

This is where the tomb of Zen Priest Mugaku, or formally Kaizan Bukkō Kokushi Mugaku Sozen Zenji, is located. Priest Mugaku, after serving as the founding priest of the Engakuji in 1282 (Kōan 5) based on the request from Hōjō Tokimune, returned to Kenchōji and died in his residence there on the third day of the fifth month of 1286. The premises include Shari-den, Kaisan-dō and Shōhō Gendō (Zen hall), which is currently used for the training of Unsuis (monks that travel around as part of their training). The Mokuzō Bukkō Kokushi Zazō (the wooden sitting statue of Bukkō Kokushi) enshrined in Kaisan-dō is a designated important cultural asset. It is a masterpiece of *chinzō* (portraits of highly ranked priests) – sculptures in the Kamakura period of which are characteristically true to life.

CHAPTER 6

BLACK AND WHITE: THE SYMBOLISM OF THE COLOUR OF THE *KESA*



Kokue and byakue

TONSEISŌ AND *KANSŌ* were clearly differentiated by the colour of their 'robes', or *kesa*. The colour of the robe is significant. For the priest who wore it, it was a symbolic expression of his awareness of his status.

Let us first examine a picture[1] from the 'Illustrated biography of the Holy Man Ippen' (*Ippen Hijiri-e*). It was commissioned by Shōkai 聖戒 (n.d.), a nephew of Ippen, in 1299, to illustrate the joy of Amitaba Buddha's salvation.[2] Ippen and his disciples visited Sekidera temple at Ōtsu (present-day Shiga prefecture) in 1284. Ippen and his disciples were reclusive monks. They chanted '*Namu Amidabutsu*' while dancing at a dancing hall in Sekidera. Sekidera was one of the branch temples of Onjōji which belonged to the *kansō* Tendai school. Many official *kansō* monks lived at Sekidera.

The scene depicted tells us an interesting fact: Ippen and his disciples who are chanting '*Namu Amidabutsu*' at the same time as dancing, are wearing black robes while Sekidera's official monks, who are looking at them, are wearing white robes. They are wearing white robes and covering their faces to make themselves unrecognizable, because, for them, the very act of watching such a curious site as priests dancing and chanting '*Namu Amidabutsu*' was considered shameful for official monks. As this scene typically shows, the official monks wore white robes.

Although the word *kesa* originally meant 'reddish-brown', later on, it referred to the 'three garments' (consisting of a larger, a

middle-sized and a smaller cloth) that *bhikṣu* were allowed to possess. In short, the term refers to the vestments or clothes of a priest. However, from the medieval period onwards, the distinction was often made between the robe known as the *kesa* and the long, thin garment which was worn below it (*hōe* 法衣), known as *hōe* ('sacerdotal wear'; see Plate 5).

In order to separate himself from worldly desires, and moreover to distinguish himself from laymen, the colours and the materials of the robes were strictly regulated. Namely, they had to be dyed in the so-called 'defiled colours' (*ejiki* 壊色), and the fabric had to be pieced together from discarded rags which were washed and tied together (a so-called *funzōe* 糞掃衣, lit.: 'robe of washed excrement'). In the precepts set by Śākyamuni, especially in the *Dharmagupta-vinaya*, the three defiled colours are said to be blue, black and madder-red, or deep purple.

Since the *kansō* were in a position similar to that of state officials, they were subject to something like public service regulations, and the colours of their robes were regulated as well. For example, we have the rules of the *Sōniryō* 僧尼令, which are supposed to have stipulated the conditions of the ancient *kansō*. The *Sōniryō* of the *Taihōryō* 大宝令, which was put in effect in 701 was lost, but reconstructions have revealed that the one in the *Taihōryō* included parts which are similar to the extant text in the *Yōrōryō* 養老令 (enforced in 757).

According to the regulations for the colours of the robe in the *Sōniryō*, they were obliged to wear madder-red (the colour of grapes), blue-green (blue and green or a mixture of both colours), ink black or a yellow robe. Violations of the regulations carried a punishment of ten days of hard labour. A colour like yellow was added, and the range of choices became wider in comparison to the regulations of the *Dharmagupta-vinaya* mentioned above. Further, when we take a look at ancient sources such as the *Nihon Ryōiki* 日本霊異記 (completed around 822), the term 'white clothes' originally referred to lay people.[3]

However, as the world of the *kansō* became secularized and the *Ritsuryō* codes became mere formalities, though the *Sōniryō* remained unchanged, it appears that the *de facto* colour of the *kansō*'s robe underwent a transformation. Especially from the tenth century onwards, the representative colour for the *kansō*

robe became white. For example, from a 'report' (*ukebumi*) which Daianji submitted to Kōfukuji, dated the fourtheenth day of the seventh month of 1202 (Kennin 2), it becomes clear that the colour of the robe of the Nara priests such as those of Kōfukuji had changed to white in the recent past.[4] As it also says in the *Mappō tōmyōki*, a late Heian text, which has been falsely ascribed to Saichō, that 'during *mappō*,[5] the robe will change and become white',[6] suggesting that the typical colour of the robe of the *kansō* became white.

Of course, when one takes a look at sources such as the picture scrolls (*emaki*), it appears that the colour of the robe worn by the *kansō* did not necessarily have to be white, and that there were red and yellow robes as well. Indeed, there was a variety of robe-colours depending on the office and rank of the *kansō*. For example, priests who were in charge of (ordination) ceremonies (*igishi*) were supposed to wear a red robe. Nevertheless, the issue here is what the typical, representative colour is. If we do not take note of these representative forms, we lose sight of the essential distinctions.

Thus, the typical robe of the medieval *kansō* was white, but by contrast the *tonseisō* on the other hand, wore black (a blackish, or *sumisome* 'inky black' robe). For example, in the *Kaijashō* 改邪抄, it states that: 'they entirely take the shape of *tonseisō*, they prefer their strange appearance, they wear long undergarments and use black robes; it should not be like this'.[7] In other words, he says that their liking for the *tonseisō* appearance, of wearing a long undergarment and a black robe, is outrageous. From this fact, we can deduce the typical form of the *tonseisō*. It appears to be a 'strange appearance', which in concrete terms refers to wearing a long undergarment and a black robe. Moreover, in another part of the *Kaijashō*, it states that 'aspiring to an appearance which neglects morality, they wear long undergarments and black robes! This is utterly unbecoming.'[8] Also from this passage it becomes clear that wearing long undergarments and a black robe had historically come to be perceived as a rejection of common sense. Thus, the *kokue* or black robe, was strange and peculiar to the reclusive priests.

True, in the *Kaijashō*, Kakunyo of Honganji orders his own school to wear white robes, or *byakue*. Since Honganji is the

head-temple (*honji* 本寺) of the Jōdo shin sect,[9] which is said to be representative of Kamakura New Buddhism, it seems to contradict the fact that the robes of the *tonseisō* were black. However, in Kakunyo's days, the Shin school was not a representative power of Kamakura New Buddhism, and his order to wear white robes was because he hated to be seen in the same light as the priests of the Ji school. In short, he was an exception to the rule. Black does not distinguish between high and low.

Thus, the typical robe of the *tonseisō* was black. Namely, of the two basic monastic groups in the Middle Ages, it is clear that on the one hand, the *kansō* wore white, and on the other hand the *tonseisō* wore black. This may seem to be a trifling difference, but the choice of the robe-colours reflects the self-awareness of the priests. Thus, we can get at the essence of both groups by understanding their 'colour code'. So, why did one group choose white and the other black?

The *Sokenki* 素絹記, which was written by Jōchin 定珍 (n.d.) in 1571, can be used as a reference to see how the *kansō* regarded the wearing of white. There it says that white is 'guaranteed by the Son of Heaven' (*tenshi honmei* 天子本命),[10] in other words befitting for the *kansō* who attended the emperor and prayed for the protection of the country, and that black, on the other hand, is a 'defiled colour'. We know, therefore, that white was perceived as a pure colour linked to the emperor.

On the other hand, judging from the *Sokenki*, black is treated as a defiled colour which is unbecoming to the emperor. Moreover, according to the *Kaijashō* the black robe was seen as a 'strange appearance', and we find the same perception in sources such as the *Shasekishū*. In short, the black robe appears to be a strange and defiled form of the robe. Given this *kansō* perception, how was it perceived by the *tonseisō*?

The case of Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢 (1291–1360, a member of the political elite) may clarify this. On the fifteenth day of the fourth month of Enbun 4 (1359), he entered the priesthood of the Jōdo sect, and donned the black robe under the name of Kugen. He noted this in his diary (the *Entairyaku*[11] 園太暦 covering the period 1311–60), recognizing the black robe as the clothing of mendicant priests, befitting recluses who do not distinguish between high and low. This is an important point,

because even though Kinkata knows of the black robe as clothes for mendicants, he thinks of it as appropriate for recluses who do not distinguish between the rich and the poor, and readily wear it. When we take this into consideration along with the fact that in those days the mendicant priests were connected with defilement, it becomes clear that Kinkata saw himself as exempt from such restrictions and free of the mundane world. Furthermore, Kinkata believed black projected an exalted image.

According to the *Azuma kagami*[12] 吾妻鏡 (the official history of the Kamakura shogunate), in the fifth month of Shōji 2 (1200), an incident occurred involving Minamoto no Yoriie 源頼家 (1182–1204, the second shogun of the Kamakura period) who despised the *nenbutsu* practitioners of Hōnen's order, and came to detest their black robes. He had fourteen of them stripped of their robes, and had their black robes burned. On that occasion, the *nenbutsu* practitioner Shōnen 称念 (n.d.) from Ise, stepped forward and criticized Yorie for only banning the black robe, despite the fact that the *sokutai* (see below) of the laity had the same black colour.

The *sokutai* costume (shown in Plate 6), was standardized in the latter half of the tenth century, and was the representative attire for a long time thereafter. Its colour was prescribed according to the wearer's rank, and it was normally worn when serving at the imperial court. The name derives from the fact that one ties together (or *tabaneru*) the parts at the hips with a leather belt (or *obi*). The basic *sokutai* composition consists of a court cap (or *kanmuri*), an outer robe (or *hō*), a short under-jacket (or *hanpi*), a long train (or *shitagasane*), a garment between the train and the singlet (or *akome*), an unlined singlet (or *hitoe*), outer trousers (flared, like a divided skirt, or *ue no hakama*), wide-legged trousers (or *okuchi*), silk or brocade socks (or *shitozu*), a leather belt adorned with pieces of stone (or *sekitai)*, shoes (or *kutsu*), a wooden staff or sceptre (or *shaku*), and a small, oblong case made out of shark-skin, with silver or golden fishes on it, revealing the court rank of the owner (or *gyotai*). When wearing a sword (or *tachi*) one added a long sword string (or *hirao*) to this ensemble.[13]

When we examine the colour of the outer garment of the *sokutai*, around the first millenium it was black for the aristocracy for the fourth court rank and higher. In other words, it was the

colour of the high nobility. Shōnen's claim was based on this. Therefore, it is possible that black was also thought of as a noble colour. In a way, black bore the double interpretation of defilement and nobility.

Notes

[1] *Nihon Emaki Taisei Betsukan Ippen Shōnin Eden* (hereafter *Ippen Shōnin Eden*) Shigemi Komatsu (ed.) (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1978) 180.
[2] For more on the background of *Ippen Hijiri-e*, please see *Ippen Shōnin eden* 342.
[3] *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2003) See '*byakue*'.
[4] See Hanazono daigaku Fukuchiin ke monjo Kenkyū kai (ed.), *Fukuchiin ke monjo* (Kyōto: Hanazono daigaku, 1975) 15.
[5] Buddhists view time in relation to the lifetime of the Buddha. In other words, the spiritual, moral and physical conditions on earth are thought to deteriorate in direct proportion to the time since the Buddha's death. Buddhists thought that during *mappō*, even if the Buddha's teaching existed, it was impossible for Buddhist practitioners to obtain enlightenment. In Japan, it was widely thought that the *mappō* began in 1052 because at that time in Japan, the *mappō* was thought to begin 2000 years after the death of the Buddha who was thought to have died in 949 BCE.
[6] See *Zōho kaitei Nihon daizōkyō – Tendaishū kenkyū sōsho vol. 3* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976) 281. As an English study on *the Mappō tōmyō ki*, the following article should be noted: Michelle Marra, 'The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan (1–2)' in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 15 nos. 1,4 (1988) 24–51, 287–305.
[7] See: *Shinshū shōgyō zensho Vol. 3 Rekidai bu* (Kyōto: Shinshū shōgyō zensho hensanjo, 1981) 67. This text was written in 1337 by Kakunyo 覚如 (1270–1351) to correct the perceived heresies within Shinran's sect.
[8] Op.cit.
[9] As the great-grandson of Shinran, Kakunyo had the custodial rights over his mausoleum (the Ōtani byōdō 大谷廟堂), which he had redesignated Honganji by 1321, and claimed its primacy within the Jōdo shin sect.
[10] See Gafū Izutsu, *Hōe shi* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1982) 133.
[11] In the sixth volume of *Entairyaku* (Tokyo: Zoku gunshoruiju kanseikai, 1985) 269–270.
[12] Katsumi Kuroita et al. (comp.), *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei – Azuma kagami* vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō bunkan, 1972) 574 (Shōji 2/5/12). It covers the period 1180–1266, compiled by the Kamakura *bakufu* at the end of the thirteenth century.
[13] Tetsuro Kitamura, *Nihon fukushoku shi* (Tokyo: Iseikatsu Kenkyū kai, 1973).

CHAPTER 7

THE ERA OF RELIGIOUS FUND-RAISING



IN THE MEDIEVAL period, public projects – ranging from the repair and maintenance of bridges and roads to the building of official temples – which were conducted by the state or by the provincial government organs (called the *kokuga* 国衙**)** – were undertaken through religious fund-raising. The promoters, as noted earlier, were the so-called '*kanjin* saints', or '*kanjin* holy men' (*kanjin shōnin* 勧進聖人), who travelled through the provinces carrying their *kanjin* lists (*kanjin chō,* documents that recorded the donations of all sorts, even 'a tiny slip of land or a halfpenny' (*isshi hansen* 一紙半銭) and gathered contributions at bridges, temple gates and barrier stations (check-points).

This method of religious fund-raising became widely accepted from the twelfth century onwards. The earliest-known example of this phenomenon is the temple-bell of Kinpusenji (Nara prefecture) which was made through the fund-raising efforts of the *kanjin* holy man Dōjaku 道寂 (n.d.) in 1141 (Hōen 7).[1] What is more, in the twelfth century, the state-controlled bridges such as the Ujibashi and the Setahashi,[2] came to be maintained and controlled through religious fund-raising. To give an example, the Sekidera temple at Ōmi was restored in 1179 (Jishō 3) through the *kanjin* of Namua, who is believed to be none other than Hōnen.[3]

Thus, the *kanjin* paradigm permeated society around the twelfth century, but we should note that the *kanjin* saints and the *kanjin* holy men, who functioned as religious fund-raisers, were practically all *tonseisō* (reclusive monks) in their black robes.

Generally speaking, the reason for this is that the *tonseisō* were liberated from the restrictions of the *kansō* (official monks). The *kansō* ideal was to seclude oneself in a temple and devote oneself to Buddhist practices, and they shunned travelling through the provinces and participating in *kanjin* activities which included the risk of coming into contact with defilement. The *tonseisō*, on the other hand, were free from these scruples. What is more, as noted above, in the case of Tōin Kinkata, they perceived the black robe as the garment of mendicant priests, a dress appropriate to recluses who do not distinguish between high and low status. The *tonseisō* in their black robes were believed to be the right people for collecting contributions without discriminating between rich and poor.

Among them, the *nenbutsu*, Zen and *Ritsu* priests conducted activities that should be given special mention among the medieval *kanjin*, because of their occasional relationships with the secular powers, and their capacity to perform fund-raising thanks to their impartiality, their technical skill and their influence over groups of artisans. Let us now consider their connection to religious fund-raising, giving the examples of Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206) for the *nenbutsu* priests, Eisai 栄西 (1141–1215) for the Zen priests and Ninshō 忍性 (1217–1303) for the *Ritsu* priests.

Chōgen

Among the monuments symbolizing the beginning of the medieval period of religious fund-raising, pre-eminent is the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji, with its Buddha Hall and the 'Great Southern Gate' (*Nandaimon*) of the same temple which were repaired and rebuilt as a result of the activities of Chōgen.

Chōgen had become the *daikanjin* (lit.: 'Great Religious Fund-Raiser') of Tōdaiji in the eighth month of 1181 (Yōwa 1). From that time, along with his disciples he worked to restore Tōdaiji and collected funds without distinction between the upper and lower classes. The title of *daikanjin* refers to the person who is generally in charge of a religious fund-raising project for which several *kanjin* saints (*kanjin* holy men) are mobilized. But in those days, the *daikanjin* did not just collect the capital and the

assets by organizing and commanding the *kanjin* saints, he was also the *ipso facto* general contractor who oversaw construction of and payment for the temples, as well as employing and directing the builders and craftsmen. Large projects, therefore, required a priest who was able to equally distribute the capital and assets (and who was of course not allowed to keep anything for himself), who assembled an excellent group of technicians, and who was capable of setting up a complex organization – in other words, a priest who was an outstandingly competent fund-raiser and manager. Chōgen was the first person to be appointed to the office of *daikanjin* at Tōdaiji, and as the general contractor for the construction of the temple, he is ranked as the father of the *daikanjin*, and, indeed, he can be counted the founder of the *daikanjin* formula.

There were two forms of religious fund-raising in the medieval period: one directed by people who were appointed to the office of *daikanjin* by the emperor, and one performed by private *kanjin* saints. At official temples such as Kōfukuji, Mt Kōya, Hōryūji, Hotsushōji and temples of equivalent rank, a *daikanjin* function was established, which was responsible for restoration work. Though religious fund-raising was originally conducted for construction or repairs, when a permanent *daikanjin* office was set up, it became an ongoing enterprise which was responsible for further development and maintenance, even after the original repairs were completed.

Thus, Chōgen's appointment as *daikanjin* was epoch-making. Chōgen was a *tonseisō* of the *nenbutsu* group, and even after his installation as *daikanjin* he continued to act as a *tonseisō* in his black robe. An examination of his career at this point reveals the importance of his appointment. Chōgen's other name was Shunjōbō 俊乗房, and he was born in 1121 (Hōan 2) in Kyōto as a son of the warrior Ki no Sueshige 紀季重 (n.d.). His lay name was Gyōbuzaemon Shigesada 刑部左衛門重定. Further, there is also a reference in his biography which states that he was a brother of Eisai. He entered Kamidaigoji in 1133 (Chōshō 2) where he took the tonsure, and then probably he made his *jukai* (receiving precepts) ceremony at the Tōdaiji precepts-platform. At Daigoji, he learned esoteric Buddhism, and he later made a pilgrimage to the sacred places of the Shingon school on

Shikoku, and to various sacred mountains such as Ōmine and Kumano where he performed ascetic practices. In short, he lived the life of a *kansō* (official monk) specializing initially in the Shingon school.

However, between 1163 and 1176 he succeeded in going to China three times (though some scholars are sceptical about this) and joined the group of Hōnen's reclusive priests. He became the *kanjin* holy man for the copper bell of Enjuin at Mt Kōya, which bears an inscription of the sixth day of the second month of 1176 (Angen 2). Furthermore, it is said that he went to China together with Eisai in 1168.

In this way, Chōgen began as an official monk of Daigoji, and later on secluded himself as a *nenbutsu* priest. That he had learned Chinese technology in China, the experience which he acquired as a *kanjin* holy man at Mt Kōya and other temples, and the recommendations by influential people of his day such as Minamoto no Arifusa 源有房 (n.d., a noble man) and Hōnen, may explain why he was promoted to *daikanjin*.

I have given the example of Chōgen who can be considered the father of the *daikanjin* tradition. In addition, the activities of other *nenbutsu* priests such as Jōkō 浄光 (n.d.), the *kanjin* saint of the Great Buddha in Kamakura, and Ōamidabutsu 往阿弥陀仏 (n.d.) who constructed the Wakae harbour of the same city, were conspicuous among those of the *tonseisō* in the early and mid-Kamakura periods. However, in the later part and during the closing years of the Kamakura period, the Zen and the Ritsu priests conducted remarkable *kanjin* activities.

Eisai

Eisai was a *tonseisō*, and he, too, played an important part in the activities of religious fund-raising. Namely, in the tenth month of 1206 (Ken'ei 1) he succeeded Chōgen, who had died in the sixth month of the same year, and was appointed as *daikanjin* of Tōdaiji, an office which he held until the seventh month of 1215 (Kenpō 3). The reason for Eisai's appointment as Chōgen's successor may lie in stories that the two were said to have gone to China together (and that they may even have been brothers), but beyond that, Eisai was also a *tonseisō* with an outstanding capacity

for religious fund-raising. It is said that during his stay in China, he had a hand in the reparations of such buildings as the temple gate and the right and left corridors of Wanniansi[4] (万年寺), Guanyinyuan 観音院, Dacisi 大慈寺, the pagoda for Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 at Mt Tiantai 天台山 and Qianfoke 千仏閣 of Mt Tiantong 天童山. Moreover, he oversaw the construction projects for Jufukuji 寿福寺 in Kamakura and Kenninji 建仁寺 in Kyōto.

He was not only endowed with this competency for construction works, but he was also able to count on the powerful backing of the Kamakura shogunate which gave a great deal of support to the revival of Tōdaiji. This is clear from records which indicate that he was appointed as the founder of Jufukuji by Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157–1225) in 1200 (Shōji 2), and that he received a donation for the erection of Kenninji following his conversion of Minamoto no Yoriie 源頼家 (1182–1204).

Furthermore, besides the restoration of Tōdaiji, he was ordered by the imperial court to rebuild the nine-storeyed pagoda of Hotsushōji which had been struck by lightning and burned down in the eighth month of 1209 (Jōgen 3), a task which he completed in 1213 (Kenpō 1). Thus, Eisai can also be treated as a *tonseisō* who played a significant role in religious fund-raising. I would now like to introduce the priest Ninshō – one of the foremost fund-raisers of this period – who might be regarded as the Mother Teresa of his day.

Ninshō

Ryōkanbō 良観房 Ninshō (1217–1303) promoted the 'revival' of the precepts as one of Eizon's leading disciples, and is famous for his salvation of leprosy patients.[5] Though Ninshō conducted remarkable activities in religious fund-raising as well, the fact that he was a *tonseisō* has not been given much attention. In addition to clarifying his existence as a *tonseisō*, let us also consider his *kanjin* activities.

Ninshō was born on the sixteenth day of the seventh month of 1217 (Kenpō 5), in the village of Byōbu in the Shikinoshimo district of the Yamato province (present-day Byōbu, Miyake town, Shiki district, Nara prefecture). It is said that at the age of

eleven he pursued his studies at Mt Shigi, and that at thirteen he learned about the 'Lord of Compassion' (J.: jishi), referring to Maitreya. His mother died in 1232 (Jōei 1) when he was sixteen, and in the same year he took the tonsure and became a priest. In the following year (1233, Tenpuku 1), he received the precepts at the Tōdaiji precepts-platform. However, about 1239 (En'ō 1) he received the 'Ten Principal Precepts' from Eizon, in 1240 (Ninji 1) the 'Ten Precepts' of the Brahmajala-sutra, followed by the 'fully possessed precepts' (Skt.: upasampadā; J.: *gusoku kai* .), and in 1245 (Kangen 3) he attended the *jukai* ceremony of Eizon's order at their Ebaradera precepts-platform in Izumi (present-day Sakai-city in Osaka prefecture). In this way, Ninshō, too, had once been a *kansō*, but he retreated around 1239 and became a member of Eizon's order as a *tonseisō* priest.

It was after leaving for Kamakura that Ninshō performed his remarkable activities. He left for the Kantō region in the eighth month of 1252 (Kenchō 4) at the age of thirty-six, and engaged in his salvation activities. Though Mimuradera in Hitachi (presently located in Oda, Tsukuba city, Ibaraki prefecture) was his base in the beginning, he entered Gokurakuji in Kamakura in the eighth month of 1267 (Bun'ei 4), and from there he carried out his missionary activities directed towards the people of Kamakura, ranging from the shogun to patients with leprosy.

He performed works of civil engineering consolidating the harbours and roads of Kamakura, such as repairs to Wakae Island and cutting a narrow road through the mountains (*kiridōshi*) near Gokurakuji. It is said that he built no less than 189 bridges, opened or repaired seventy-one roads and dug thirty-three wells in various provinces. Through these public works he acquired the credibility to enable him to pursue the *kanjin* activities of his day – namely, the ability to manage a group of skilled artisans and win the support of the Kamakura shogunate. Especially by his control of both Wakae and the outer port of Mutsuura and his control over the trade with China, he found himself in a position where he could gain knowledge of the superior Chinese engineering techniques, without even going there himself. Moreover, he observed the austere precepts, and was renowned as an upright and impartial priest.

The fact that Ninshō was appointed as the fourteenth

daikanjin of Tōdaiji in the eighth month of 1293 (Einin 1), was also indicative of his outstanding capacity for religious fund-raising. He was obviously highly regarded and performed his duties excellently, attracting high praise from the priests of Tōdaiji, equalling that of Eisai. Besides Tōdaiji, he also helped with the revival of temples such as Shitennōji and was a *tonseisō* who demonstrated a superior capability for religious fund-raising.

So far, I have discussed Chōgen, Eisai and Ninshō, and looked at them in terms of the relationship between the *tonseisō* and their *kanjin* activities. Each of them was a reclusive priest who had become *daikanjin* of Tōdaiji, and though Tōdaiji was a head-temple of the *kansō*, we cannot say that these three priests stopped being *tonseisō* in black robes merely because of their appointment to this function. In the Tōdaiji *daikanjin*, the special features of medieval religious fund-raising appear in a condensed form, and their nomination was not without reason. They were people who embodied the necessary, if not ideal qualities as a *daikanjin*.

From 1181 (Yōwa 1) to 1527 (Taiei 7), except for a few gaps, forty-six priests were appointed to the post of Tōdaiji *daikanjin*. It should be noted that, apart from the sixth *daikanjin* Jōshin 定真 (fl., late-twelfth century) who was the administrative head priest of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū in Kamakura, they were all *tonseisō*. Moreover, excluding Chōgen and Enjō 円乗 (fl., late-thirteenth century), they were all Zen and Ritsu priests. This fact shows that, among *kanjin* priests, the Zen and the Ritsu priests were particularly well-suited for the job. In their *kanjin* activities, these priests collected donations without distinguishing between high and low status. However, on the other hand, a close relationship with the secular powers such as the emperor, ex-emperor, shogun and the head of the Hōjō family (*tokusō*) also became necessary to the *tonseisō*. The fact that the political intervention of the Zen and Ritsu priests was ridiculed in graffiti at Nijō Kawara[6] also reflects their influence on the 'era of religious fund-raising'.

It should also be noted that the *daikanjin* paradigm was not just applied to Tōdaiji, but also to official temples like Mt Kōya, Hōryūji, Tōji and Hoshōji (and temples which were treated similarly). Moreover, *tonseisō* in black robes were appointed to these

positions as well. Furthermore, in the fund-raising for bridges and roads in rural localities we can also detect the mark of the reclusive priests.

Religious fund-raising and ballad of Sanshō Dayū

In this way, the *tonseisō* played an extremely important role in religious fund-raising. Linked to that, they also made a significant contribution in the creation of works of the performing arts. That is to say, the *kanjin* saints and the *kanjin* holy men recounted narratives and performed various kinds of public entertainments at the entrance to bridges, at temple precincts or at barrier stations in order to attract contributors. Further, the pictorial biographies, which expressed the biographies of the patriarchs in words (especially in ideograms mixed with phonetic script) and pictures (*soshieden*), and the legendary origins of temples and shrines (*jisha engi*), which depicted their miraculous tales, were explained to the people and used for religious fund-raising.

Because the *tonseisō* were the organizers of religious fund-raising, and were the actual *kanjin* saints, they became the creators of these works of performing and liberal arts. Let me here provide an example of the *Sanshō Dayū*, the preaching ballad which is part of their narrative literature.[7]

In speaking of the *Sanshō Dayū* さんせう大夫 there may be some readers who are familiar with the novel by Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862–1922) called *Sanshō Dayū*[8] 山椒大夫. Who can remain unmoved by the story of the mother who was sold to a slave dealer, the family love of the brothers and sisters, or the song to scare off birds sung by the mother who cried so much for her children that she lost her eyesight? However, I am not wishing to take Mori Ōgai's *Sanshō Dayū* story any further here, but simply draw attention to the preaching ballad of *Sanshō Dayū* which belongs to the tradition of oral literature.

The medieval ballad begins as follows: The story which I will now narrate is set in the province of Tango (part of present-day Kyōto prefecture). Simply put, it teaches us about the divine origin of the Kanayaki Jizō...[9]. Through this typical opening, stating that the tale which the narrator is going to tell, provides a sketchy description of the history of the Jizō[10] of Kanayaki in

Tango, it will be easy to imagine the figure of a wandering preacher who delivers his sermons facing his audience in a main street, while sounding his bamboo or clacker (J.: *sasara*[11]).

Thus, preaching ballads like *Sanshō Dayū* belonged to the oral literature that was used by the preachers. Even if they were narrated by the preachers for their own livelihood, it is certain that the stories originally served a role in fund-raising for the construction and reparation of halls and pagodas of temples and shrines. In other words, they related the miracles and tales of these holy places in order to encourage people to give generously!

It follows from this that it is not altogether an impossible assumption to suppose that the original *Sanshō Dayū* (it is thought that the *Sanshō Dayū* as we see it today has undergone a process of various changes, so I am speaking here of its earliest form) was also composed for the *kanjin* of certain temples or shrines. Which temple or shrine this was, can be conjectured from the contents of the text.

When seen from this perspective, we find that the state-sponsored provincial temple (*kokubunji*) of Tango (which used to be located at present-day Aza Kokubun, Miyazu city, Kyōto prefecture) and Shitennōji[12] in Osaka were extremely important places in the development of the story of *Sanshō Dayū*. It is to the Tango temple that the character Zushiō flees, and through the cooperation of the abbot and a miracle of the Kanayaki Jizō, he is able to escape the pursuit of Sanshō Dayū. It is, so to speak, the place of his first salvation, and it is depicted as a dilapidated temple. The abbot lies ('violates the precept about telling falsehoods') asserting that Zushiō is not there, and the story reaches one of its climaxes in the scene where he is forced by Sanshō Dayū and his companions to state this in a written pledge (*kishōmon* 起請文). Then, it is at Shitennōji where Zushiō, who cannot stand on his feet anymore, suddenly finds himself able to walk again upon leaning against its stone *torii* gate. Further, being discovered at the Umetsu-no-in 梅津院 of a noble family, he is adopted by them, and gets the opportunity to reinstate the Iwaki family, who were the lords of fifty-four counties in Mutsu (present-day Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi and Fukushima prefectures). In short, it was the place where he accomplished his rise from low to high status.

In this way, the Tango and Shitennōji are the temples which form the key to the narrative of *Sanshō Dayū*. Therefore, it is possible that the story was compiled for the purpose of religious fund-raising activities of one of these two temples. Because an important part of the tale takes place in Tango, we can assume that the original *Sanshō Dayū* was composed for the Tango temple in particular.

The date of the compilation of the text is not known; there are some clues to help us place it in time. First of all, the story about Zushiō, who lost the strength in his legs but could stand again upon leaning against the stone *torii* of Shitennōji, is significant. This is because the shift from a wooden to a stone *torii* of Shitennōji was made by Ninshō who I mentioned earlier. In fact, it was Ninshō who became the administrative head priest of the Shitennōji and changed its *torii* into a stone one. It is thought that this stone *torii* was erected in the eighth month of 1302 (Kengen 1). Therefore, we can reasonably assume that the *Sanshō Dayū* was written after that time.

Furthermore, the story which takes place in the Tango temple also gives us a clue. Unlike Mori Ogai's *Sanshō Dayū*, in the preaching ballad a bloody revenge takes place at the Tango temple by the revived Zushiō on *Sanshō Dayū*, who is buried up to his shoulders and beheaded by his son Saburō with a bamboo saw. In other words, the temple had become an execution ground, and funerals were performed there. The point that this site is depicted as a temple which has some connection with the defilement of death is important. This is because in the ancient state-sponsored temples where the *kansō* lived, there were no ceremonies related to the impurity of death, such as obsequies. That the state temple priests took up services such as funerals was only from their 'revival' in the medieval period, when the Ritsu priests of Eizon's order came to live there. Upon this, the 'revival' of the Tango temple in the Middle Ages becomes an issue.

Model of the gutsy abbot

In speaking of the state-sponsored provincial temples, which were official temples from the ancient period that were estab-

lished at the site of each seat of the provincial government (*kokufu*) by the pious wish of emperor Shōmu (701–756), they tend to be thought of as having ceased their operations in the Middle Ages. Although it seems that there were indeed provincial temples that ceased to function, even in the medieval period a need was felt for the religious services they provided. For example, at the entry for the nineteenth day of the fourth month of 1231 (Kangi 3) in the *Azuma Kagami*, we find that an order is issued by the shogunate to the priests in the state-sponsored temples of the various provinces of Eastern Japan to chant the *Suvarna-prabhdsa-uttama-sutra* (J.: *Saishōōkyō*) as a prayer for the prevention of disasters through storm, rain, flood, drought and fire.[13]

Moreover, a 'revival' of the provincial temples (as well of the *Ichinomiya* 一宮) was conducted around the time of the Mongol invasions.[14] This 'revival' was carried out in particular by the order which had Eizon of Saidaiji in Nara and his disciple Ninshō as its nucleus. Many of the provincial temples took the opportunity to become one of the precepts-temples of Eizon's order. This 'revival' was based on the wishes of Eizon, Ninshō and their fellow Ritsu priests, while the shogunate and the imperial court gave their patronage to it, anticipating protection from the Mongol invasions by the prayers at the temples. Several of the provincial temples (the sources speak of nineteen sites) were reinstated as temples of Eizon's order. Therefore, the final years of the Kamakura period were epoch-making times in the history of state-sponsored temples. The Tango temple which is the issue here, went through a 'revival' as a branch-temple of Saidaji, by virtue of a restoration which was started in 1326 (Karyaku 1) and resulted in the dedication service for its main hall in 1334 (Kenmu 1).

The restoration of the Tango temple was started by seven Ritsu priests who were centred around Engenbō Senki 円源房宣基 (n.d.) from Gokurakuji in Kamakura. They fervently wished to restore it, since the site at the time when they were transferred to it was in such a state of disrepair that the monastery was ruined and had become the haunt of foxes and wolves, while the temple itself was said to look like a dwelling for pheasants and rabbits.[15] Even the gilt bronze statue of the healing Buddha, which had

been the principal image, had been stolen and sold in Kyōto. Having obtained the cooperation from the bureaucrats in the provincial office, they started their religious fund-raising on the eighteenth day of the third month of 1326 (Karyaku 1), and on the fourteenth day of the fourth month of 1327 they came to receive the imperial order for its rebuilding from emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339). On the seventh day of the fourth month of 1334 (Kenmu 1) the ceremony for the raising of the ridgepole was conducted; and on the ninth day of the fourth month, the dedication ceremony of the main hall was held.

Furthermore, it is also notable that the carpenters who carried out this reconstruction consisted of locals belonging to Shitennōji. The carpenters of Shitennōji probably cooperated with the rebuilding of the Tango temple as a result of the fact that, following Eizon and Ninshō's appointment to administrative head priest, Shitennōji maintained a close relationship with Eizon's order, as is demonstrated by the fact that branch-temples like Yakushi'in were founded within its precincts. But that aside, we see that the carpenters of Shitennōji, which was an important place in the preaching ballad of the *Sanshō Dayū*, cooperated with the reconstruction of the Tango temple.

Though the Tango temple was restored by a group centred around Senki, as he was a priest from Gokurakuji, this restoration can be considered a part of the 'revival' of the state-sponsored provincial temples by Eizon's order which had Eizon and Ninshō as its nuclei.

The resuscitation by the Ritsu priests in the final years of the Kamakura period, and the depiction of the Tango temple in *Sanshō Dayū* as a dilapidated temple where 'one gutsy priest' lives, and the site's connection with funerals, all contribute to the conjecture that its setting was the Tango temple at the time when Senki had only just begun his 'revival'. If we allow our imagination to roam a little, we can assume that Senki stood as the model for the abbot.

In fact, the abbot of the Tango temple is described in *Sanshō Dayū* as a priest who in speaking of his province [of origin], he was a man from Uda in Yamato province, and at the age of seven, he went up to the Shoshazan in Harima, at ten years of age he shaved his head, and at twenty he ascended to the raised seat for

the leader of a service or as a lecturer (*kōza*).[16] As a result, we know that he was a priest who studied the teachings of the Tendai school at the Shoshazan Enkyōji in Harima (present-day Hyōgo prefecture). It is thought that in those days, Eizon and his Ritsu priests turned the formerly Tendai Harima Hokkezan Ichijōji into one of their own temples. Thus, it would not be wrong to say that the priests who originally belonged to the Tendai school became members of Eizon's order.

In the region itself it is thought that the Tango temple from the *Sanshō Dayū* was Bukkokuzan Kokubunji (in the village of Wae, present-day Maizuru city, Wae, Kyoto prefecture). This view can already be seen in geographical descriptions from the Edo period such as the *Tankafushi*[17] (compiled between 1763 and 1841) and the *Tango meish*ō *annai*[18] (completed in 1814). However, those are all descriptions from the early modern period, and there is no corroboration which indicates the existence of a temple called Bukkokuzan Kokubunji in the Middle Ages. It may be more appropriate to think that the temple ruins near Yura were those of the temple referred to in the ballad, because *Sanshō Dayū* was popular there and because it was where the character Sanshō Dayū had lived.

Furthermore, the fact that Shitennōji was another important location in the story can be interpreted as follows. Eizon and Ninshō, as the administrative head priests of Shitennōji, put their efforts into its maintenance and turned its Yakushi'in into a branch-temple of Saidaiji. The close relationships between Eizon's order and Shitennōji reached such an extent that they could achieve the cooperation of its carpenters for the restoration of the Tango temple. That is probably why Shitennōji is also depicted in the *Sanshō Dayū* as an important site. From the facts such as the erection of the stone *torii* gate at Shitennōji and the restoration of the Tango temple by the Ritsu priests, we can consider *Sanshō Dayū* to have been composed after 1302 and before 1334 in connection with Senki's religious fund-raising for the rebuilding of the Tango temple, or in brief, that the *Sanshō Dayū* was compiled in connection with the *kanjin* activities of the Ritsu priests as *tonseisō*. Thus, the activities of religious fund-raising by the *tonseisō* played an important role in the medieval performing arts as well.

Notes

[1] Rizō Takeuchi (ed.), *Heian Ibun Kinsekibun* (Tokyo: Tokyodō, 1960), 333.
[2] The Ujibashi bridge was built across the river which formed the boundary between Kyōto and Nara while the Setabashi bridge was built across the river which formed the boundary between Kyōto and Ōtsu. As is well known, Kyoto and Nara were old capitals and Ōtsu was the gate from Kyoto to eastern Japan. The first Ujibashi bridge was built in 646 while the first Setabashi bridge was built in 667. They were often destroyed.
[3] Fumihiko Gomi, *Inseiki Shakai no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yamakawa shoten, 1984).
[4] Concerning Wanniansi, see James M. Hargett, *Stairway to Heaven,* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).
[5] Technically, 'Hansen's disease' (J.: *raibyō* ライ病), and a history of discrimination sticks to the term disease. The author does not have any intention to promote this discrimination. However, bearing in mind the demands of a historical description, or to be more precise, to give an account of the severely discriminating situation in which these patients were placed, I will use the expression 'leprosy' here.
[6] It refers to the dried part of the Kamo river bed at Nijō in Kyoto. See *the Kenmu ninen-ki* in *Nihon shisō taikei* vol. 22 *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō* vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1981), 345.
[7] *Sanshō Dayū* is the story about the boy Zushiō 厨子王 (twelve) and his sister Anju 安寿 (fourteen), who take off together with their mother and nurse, to look for their father who left them twelve years earlier. In the course of their journey, they are separated from their mother and nurse, who are sent to the island of Sado. Zushiō and Anju are sold to the slave dealer Sanshō Dayū and his two sons, who force them to do hard labour. Eventually, only Zushiō is able to flee and escape alive from the pursuit of Sanshō Dayū's band. Special attention is paid to the personage of Anju in the following article: Igeta Midori, 'The Image of Women in Sermons: Anju in "Sanshō Dayū"' in J*apanese Journal of Religious Studies* Vol. 10 No. 2/3 (1983) 247–272.
[8] See Ōgai Mori *Nihon no Bungaku* Vol. 3 *Sanshō Dayū* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1972).
[9] See Yatarō Muroki (ed. and notes), *Sekkyō shū* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1977) 81.
[10] Skt.: Ksitigarbha. A bodhisattva who vowed to save all suffering beings. In Japan, where he is known as Jizō, he is popularly believed to be a saviour of the wicked and of the souls of dead children.
[11] The *Sasara* was once one of the Japan's traditional musical instruments. It was made of 108 sheets of wood or bamboo. It is held in the hand and moved upwards or downwards or sidewards to make a sound.
[12] Shitennōji was built by Prince Shōtoku in 593. According to the *Nihonshoki*, Prince Shōtoku had carved statues of the 'Four Heavenly Kings' (Skt.: Catvāro mahārājikāh; J.: Shitennō) and vowed to build a temple if he defeated his anti-Buddhist opponents of the Mononobe clan. Upon his victory, he founded Shitennōji in 593, which came to follow in rank right after the 'Seven Great

Temples of Nara', being referred to by such names as 'The Great Temple of Naniwa (= Osaka)' (Naniwa no daiji).

[13] See Katsumi Kuroita et al. (comp.), *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei – Azuma kagami* vol.3, 106.

[14] The Mongols tried to invade Japan twice – in 1274 and 1281. However, each time Japan defeated the combined Mongolian and Korean forces. Japanese warriors were mobilized by Hōjō Tokiyori.

[15] See Toshio Ishikawa, 'Tango kokubunji Kenmu saikō engi ni tsuite' in *Kyōdo shiryō chōsa hōkoku shū* Vol. 5 (Kyōto: Kyōto-fu Tango kyōdo shiryōkan, 1984) 66.

[16] See Yatarō Muroki (ed. and notes), *Sekkyō shū*, 122.

[17] *Tankafushi* in *Tango Kyōdo Shiryōshū* Vol. 1 (Kyōto, Ryūtōsha, 1938).

[18] *Tango meisho annai*, in *Tango Kyōdo Shiryō Sōsho* Vol. 4.

CHAPTER 8

THE SALVATION OF OUTCASTS



'Non-people'

OUTCASTS OR *HININ* 非人 (lit.: non-human beings), were those people who were treated as 'lepers' – primarily people suffering from Hansen's disease (leprosy) and the physically handicapped – who made their living begging and grave-digging.

Hansen's disease is a chronic disease. Its incubation period ranges from a few years to decades, so its source is hard to trace. Because communication of the disease often occurs within one family, in the past, it was wrongly thought of as being a hereditary disease. It is actually not very contagious for adults, and it is mainly contracted during childhood, so contagion within a family is common.[1]

Leprosy has been said to be the most miserable of illnesses. There was no disease whose sufferers' lives were more pitiful than those of the lepers. Since it is a chronic illness which advances extremely slowly, lepers had to survive as best they could until they died under wretched circumstances. However, if leprosy is not that contagious, – far less so, for example, than the virulence of tuberculosis (TB) – why were lepers still forced to suffer severe social discrimination? One of the reasons lies in the very obvious pathological changes in the skin.

It should also be noted that it is hard to tell the difference between leprosy and certain other skin diseases, and serious skin conditions have been treated as leprosy until the discovery of the microbe that causes it. One of my colleagues at the faculty of medicine at Yamagata University, said that until dermatology distinguished leprosy from other skin diseases, patients of ring-

worm were mistakenly put into leper institutions until shortly after the Second World War. This is crucial background information as regards the 'miracles' which occurred in medieval times, when people who were thought to suffer from leprosy, who were supposed to be in a hopeless state, were so-called 'cured' by the treatment of priests. Patients with skin conditions who recovered when they were treated by putting medicinal herbs on their skin, giving them a meal, a bath and the like, were also regarded as leprosy victims. The following story is a good illustration of the problem lepers faced:

> At that time, he contracted the illness called white leprosy, and even the wet nurse who was his sworn parent would not let him approach her, saying that he was defiled. Therefore, with nowhere else to go, he went and lived in a hermitage at the foot of Kiyomizu. [But] there too, he was detested by the disabled, and after about three months he died. His disturbance of a solemn Buddhist service, and his jealousy of the superior priests regardless of his own low status, caused him to experience retribution in this world.[2]

This is a part of 'The case that the priest of Mount Hiei, Shinkai, experienced retribution on account of his jealousy' in the twentieth section of the late Heian collection of tales *Konjaku monogatari shū*[3] and it depicts the story of Shinkai who has contracted white leprosy, is discarded even by his wet nurse, is also hated by the outcasts at the foot of Kiyomizu, and dies a beggar. In this way, leprosy victims were discriminated against as inferior beings, and it often happened that they were abandoned by their own families. In the Middle Ages, they made their living by begging and grave-digging, and they were discriminated against as defiled *hinin*.

Even more important is the fact that, as in this story, victims of leprosy were thought to be receiving karmic punishment for their sins from previous lives or of the present. Many medieval written oaths contained the pledge: if I break this oath, nothing will help me from receiving the punishment of white or 'black leprosy'. This phrase about contracting leprosy as the punishment of the Buddha and the *kami* was used time and again.

A bathhouse for hinin

Their families were not the only ones who avoided lepers as defiled beings: the *kansō* did the same. Because the *kansō* of temples such as Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji and Enryakuji were granted the right to pray for the safety of the country by the emperor and because they participated in services, they needed to avoid anything connected with defilement. I have referred to this as 'the evasion of defilement', and I give the following example to demonstrate its relationship to lepers.

The records containing the contents of a meeting which was held at Tōdaiji on the fifth day of the tenth month of 1328 (Karyaku 3) have been preserved.[4] According to this source, a problem arose involving the transfer of a bathhouse for *hinin* (a bath for special use by leprosy patients) in the Shinzaike area in Nara. The priests of Tōdaiji decided that as far as the bath was concerned 'its defilement is to be avoided' and that it 'should be moved to the north of Hannyaji 般若寺',[5] meaning, to somewhere outside the town. A resolution was passed by a meeting of the entire body of Tōdaiji priests, and it speaks directly to their view of leprosy victims, and what kind of attitude they assumed towards them. The bathhouse for *hinin* embodied defilement for them, and they tried to keep clear of it.

Hannyaji, to the north of which they tried to transfer the bathhouse, had been restored in 1267 (Bun'ei 4) by Eizon and was a Ritsu temple which had become a branch-temple of Saidaiji. It should be noted that it was one of the bases for the salvation of leprosy sufferers by Eizon's order and that an institution for this purpose called 'the [long-] house of 18 *ken* [approximately 18 m by 1.8 m] of Kitayama' (*Kitayama jūhachi kendo* 北山十八間戸) was built next to it.

The *tonseisō* played an important role in the salvation of *hinin* as well. In considering the activities of the *tonseisō*, it may be observed that the *kansō* thought of the *tonseisō* themselves as *hinin*, a view which the *tonseisō* themselves shared.

The *kansō* regarded the *tonseisō* with contempt. For example, in the *Shasekishū*, Eisai recounts the following – justifying his promotion to archbishop while being a *tonseisō*. 'Because the famous priests among the *kansō* regard us as *hinin* or lesser beings, and disdain us as low-lifes and shabby, I have become

archbishop and tried to improve the position of the *tonseisō*.'[6] That they were seen as *hinin*, was because the *tonseisō* as a rule travelled begging with only their 'three garments' and an alms bowl as possessions.

On the other hand, the *tonseisō* also spoke of themselves as *hinin*. This is obvious from the facts that Myōe Kōben (1173–1232) who was a *tonseisō* wearing a black robe, signed the postscript of his work *Zaijarin*[7] as 'Kōben, a *hinin*',[8] and that his disciple Kōshin 高信 (n.d.), wrote 'his disciple Kōshin, a *hinin*' in the postscript to the *Myōe Shōnin kashū*.[9]

As we have already seen, the black robe was perceived as the dress of a 'mendicant priest' and that is exactly why Tōin Kinkata took the tonsure as a priest of the Jōdo sect and wore his black robe. In the Middle Ages, beggars were regarded as outcasts, and thus the *tonseisō* linked themselves with 'black robes', 'mendicancy' and '*hinin*'.

In the first place, the 'mendicant priest' who abandoned everything and begged his way through a pilgrimage, was the ideal of the *tonseisō*, because it was also the way Śakyamuni had appeared when he attained enlightenment. Imitating this, patriarchs like Ippen appeared, who wandered around while begging for their food.

Thus, as far as begging was concerned, the *tonseisō* overlapped with the *hinin*. Subsequently, orders emerged which dealt with the salvation of *hinin* in a systematic way, and it was not considered strange that they took up this cause.

Ritsu priests and hinin

The story in the preaching ballad of *Sanshō Dayū* about Zushiō may also be based on the salvation activities by Ninshō (whom I described earlier as a kind of medieval Mother Teresa) on behalf of *hinin* such as lepers and the physically handicapped.

Ninshō occupied himself with the salvation of *hinin* in a way that is typical of the medieval period. Indeed, he was a *tonseisō* whose activities rivalled those of Mother Teresa. The following anecdote[10] is handed down as a story about the time that he was living at Saidaiji. Among the leprosy sufferers at Narazaka to the north of Nara, there were some who could not even beg for their

food because they had difficulties in walking. It is said that Ninshō felt pity for them, carried them on his back to Nara in the morning, gave them time to beg and brought them back again in the evening.

What should be pointed out here is that Ninshō's activities were not limited to him alone. Instead, they were conducted as a part of the activities of the entire order founded by Eizon, all of whom were *tonseisō*. Furthermore, the salvation of *hinin* at the end of the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and during the Muromachi period (1336–1573) was for the most part performed by the Ritsu priests of Eizon's order. Their activities received the support of the imperial court and the shogunate from the latter part of the Kantō region.

The three most important elements of Ritsu *hinin* salvation were *jukai* (or ordination), almsgiving and medical treatment. *Jukai* normally refers to the ceremony during which one vows to observe the precepts. But here, it was not a rite of passage where the priests enter the ranks of the fully ordained as at the Tōdaiji precepts-platform, but rather it was conducted to let the lay believers pledge their commitment to certain precepts. On this occasion, they were made to vow the observance of the purifying precepts (*saikai* 斎戒) or the bodhisattva precepts (*bosatsukai* 菩薩戒). The former term is equivalent to the so-called 'eight precepts and the purifying precept' (*hachi saikai* 八斎戒) – that is, the eight principal precepts (*hachikai* 八戒), plus the single purifying precept (also called *saikai* in Japanese, and referring to not taking food at unsanctioned times, which means in effect not eating after noon) – making a total of nine. In other words, these nine are the same as the ten precepts upon which a novice called a śrāmaṇera has to swear, with the exception of the precept of 'keeping oneself away from gold, silver and other valuables' (meaning not to accept gold or silver). Since the single purifying precept is the most symbolic and the most important among these, together they are abbreviated as '*saikai*'. The bodhisattva precepts on the other hand, consist of a set of precepts which a bodhisattva (who does not aim solely at his own enlightenment but at the salvation of others as well) has to observe. There are various kinds of these sets depending on their precepts-text, but Eizon and his followers made the people pledge their obedience

to the 'Ten principal and the forty-eight minor precepts' (of which the latter ones are supplementary to the former), as they are expounded in the second section of the *Brahmajalasutra*.

Almsgiving or *segyō* means to give food, money, or objects (it also includes giving a bath) to the *hinin*. Eizon and his followers often went out to the dwelling of the *hinin* (J.: *hinin shuku*) and offered them charity. For example, at the service for the completion of a *jōroku* (4.80 m) statue of Manjusrī Bodhisattva (J.: *Monju bosatsu*) at the Hannyaji in the third month of 1269 (Bun'ei 6), they handed out bags with one *to* (斗)[11] of rice, a parasol, a mat, a fan, a piece of cloth for their heads (leprosy patients wrapped their heads in cloth), food, implements for begging and other items to some two thousand *hinin*.

As for medical treatment, Eizon and his Ritsu priests built the Seyakuin 施薬院 at Saidaiji, and the therapeutic institutions of Ryōbyōin 療病院 and Hidenin 悲田院 at Shitennōji. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that they established the medical institution in the form of the longhouse of Kitayama at Narazaka. It is said that Ninshō built each of the five bath-houses and five clinics. These institutions were called 'leper lodgings' (*raishuku* 癩宿) or 'lodgings for the sick' (*byōshuku* 病宿) providing accommodation and medical treatment for leprosy victims as well as other patients as shown in the sketch[12] of the compound of his Gokurakuji in Kamakura. According to the *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書, in twenty years, 57,250 people were treated at the Kuwagayatsu clinic, which was set up by Ninshō in Kamakura, and 46,000 (more than four-fifths) of them were cured.[13] Among them there were many who were believed to be lepers. The people of those days considered this a 'miracle' performed by Ninshō, and they respected him for it.

Salvation activities through the faith in Maņjuśrī

As we have seen, the salvation of *hinin* by Ritsu priests was based on the three pillars of *jukai*, almsgiving and medical treatment. How did they relate to each other?

It is accepted by scholars that one of the backbones for the salvation of *hinin* by Eizon's order consisted of faith in Maņjuśrī. This is also shown by the fact that the above-mentioned alms-

giving to *hinin* in the third month of 1269 (Bun'ei 6), went hand in hand with the service for a statue of this bodhisattva.

There is a proverb, 'Out of the counsel of three comes Maṇjuśrī's wisdom'.[14] Maṇjuśrī is known as the bodhisattva of wisdom, next to Śākyamuni Buddha, seated on a lion. Besides being the bodhisattva of wisdom, Maṇjuśrī was also linked to social welfare works, such as the salvation of the poor, by the ancient and medieval priests of the Nara group. This faith in Maṇjuśrī is based on the Wenzhushili ban niepanjing (J.: *Maṇjuśrī hatsu nehan gyō*), which had been introduced to Japan by the Nara period. There, reference is made to the greatness of Maṇjuśrī Bodhisattva's heavenly powers, and it is expounded that (1) one can attain Maṇjuśrī's protection and extinguish one's sins from the circle of life and death by hearing his name and venerating him, and that (2) Maṇjuśrī appears in the shape of a poor and lonely *hinin*, and tests whether or not one performs good deeds through compassion. (Thus, when good deeds are performed through compassion, there is the possibility of seeing a vision of Manjuśri.)

In discussing social welfare in the context of good deeds such as the salvation of the poor, that were based upon the *Maṇjuśrī hatsu nehan gyō*, we should not forget the Maṇjuśrī ceremony (*Monju-e* 文殊会) of the *kansō*. Namely, in the second month of 828 (Tenchō 5), Taizen 泰善 (n.d.) from Gangōji and his companions decided that on the eighth day of the seventh month of each year a Maṇjuśrī ceremony should be held in every village of the country, during which services were performed for Maṇjuśrī and alms were given to the poor. This service was still being observed even in the middle of the twelfth century at Toji and Saiji[15] as one of their annual events.

Eizon and his followers conducted their salvation of *hinin* based on the faith in Maṇjuśrī from the *Maṇjuśrī hatsu nehan gyō* as well, but their work differed greatly from that of the *kansō*. This is because the *kansō* performed their welfare activities only once a year on the occasion of the Maṇjuśrī ceremony. On the other hand, Eizon's order, went further with their almsgiving, and conducted it at each service for the creation of a statue (or picture) of Maṇjuśrī. Moreover, the Ritsu priests did not just perform rather transitory almsgiving, but also conferred the puri-

fying precepts and treated the ailments of the outcasts. These activities spanned long periods of time and included such works as the construction and maintenance of the longhouse of Kitayama, leper lodgings and the like.

The fact that the *hinin* were in those days recognized as beings who were receiving the punishment of the Buddha for their evil deeds in their present or former lives, is obvious even from the previous story from the Tale of *Konjaku monogatari*. Though this idea seems to be mistaken from our present-day perspective, Eizon and his Ritsu priests also shared this view that one becomes a '*hinin* as a punishment from the Buddha'.

So, other academics have viewed Eizon and the Ritsu priests's salvation of *hinin* as being very limited. This is because it was only at the almsgiving ceremony that they viewed the *hinin* as the manifestation of Monjyu bosatsu. The rest of the time, they believed that *hinin* were receiving punishment from the buddha for their evil deeds in their present or former lives. They are believed to have spread this perception to the common people including the *hinin*, and promoted undeserved discrimination in daily life.

However, that is a reading which only addresses the second main point of the *Maṇjuśrī hatsu nehan gyō* mentioned above. When we look at the first point, we know that it was thought that one could attain the protection of Maṇjuśrī and free one of the sins which bring about the punishment of the Buddha by hearing Maṇjuśrī's name as it was chanted by the Ritsu priests and by worshipping his image. The Ritsu priests intended to free the *hinin* from their sins by making statues of Maṇjuśrī close to (or inside) their lodgings, reciting his reverential name and conducting services in front of his image. Moreover, the observance of the precepts was, in the eyes of the Ritsu priests, a superior pathway (J.: *shōin* 勝因) for attaining buddhahood, and they aimed at enlightenment for the *hinin*, too, by conferring the purifying precepts or the bodhisattva precepts on them. Further, besides salvation at such an ideological level, the Ritsu priests even performed concrete therapeutic activities such as establishing institutions for medical treatment, enabling the *hinin* to bathe and giving them medicine.

Eizon's order carried out the salvation of *hinin* with *jukai*, almsgiving and medical treatment as its pillars. Thus, it would be

expected that the other *tonseisō* orders carried out salvation of *hinin* as well.

Nenbutsu priests and the salvation of hinin

The salvation of *hinin* by the Ritsu priests who were centred around Eizon and Ninshō developed from the mid-thirteenth century. Though salvation activities hitherto had been carried out without any system by individual priests, theirs can be esteemed for the systematic nature of the activities in which they engaged.

As a priest who took up the salvation of *hinin* before Eizon's order, we can point to Eikan 永観 (1033–1111). He was appointed as the 73rd administrative head priest of Tōdaiji in 1100 (Kōwa 2), and clearly demonstrated his competency as far as its reparations were concerned. At one time, he had even risen to the priestly rank of 'superintendent' (*risshi* 律師),[16] but until he was requested to assume the office of administrative head priest he had spent many years as a recluse, a mendicant priest wearing a black robe. While specializing in the exclusive practice of the *nenbutsu*, he gave medicines and the like to the sick and to convicts, and he also performed almsgiving. Eikan reminds us of the later actions of Chōgen and the Ritsu priests, but in his days the *nenbutsu* practitioners were not able to form an independent order, and they went no further than the acts of charity by individual priests. Eikan was, so to speak, a transitional figure in the process that would eventually lead to Kamakura New Buddhism.

Further, besides Eikan, Senzei 瞻西 (n.d.) (who can be called the forerunner of Hōnen) seceded from the *kansō* of Mt Hiei at the end of the Heian period, spread the practice of *nenbutsu* from Ungoji 雲居寺 in Kyōto, became well-known as the *kanjin* saint for its Daibutsu, and also carried out almsgiving to the *hinin*.

One might then wonder how Hōnen, the pioneer of Kamakura New Buddhism and the founder of the Jōdo sect, concerned himself with the salvation of *hinin*. Although there are only a few sources which explicitly indicate the salvation of *hinin* by Hōnen's order, they are not entirely non-existent. For example, we have the register of *nenbutsu* believers (*kechien kyōmyō* 結縁交名) discovered in 1979 inside the statue of Amitābha Buddha from Gyokukeiji 玉桂寺 in the town of Shigaraki in

Shiga prefecture, which lists the 46,000 names of those who contributed to the *kanjin* for the construction of the statue.[17] The text lists the objectives for the construction of the statue by Hōnen's disciple Seikanbō Genchi 勢観房源智 (1183–1238) which is dated the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month of 1212 (Kenryaku 2), and the register of about thirty items. Hōnen had died in the first month of the same year, and it is possible, given the date of the objectives, that Genchi tried to combine the erection of the statue of Amitābha Buddha with the first anniversary of his death.

It is notable that, though this statue of Amitābha was completed through the donations of 46,000 people, among these contributors we find the names of no less than 370 Ainu, as well as names of the physically handicapped, referred to as 'blind' or 'beggar'. From the former group we understand that Hōnen's teachings had captured the hearts of Ainu as well, and from the latter group we can presume that Hōnen's followers carried out the salvation of *hinin*, since the physically handicapped were regarded as outcasts in those days. Although Seikanbō Genchi's salvation of *hinin* cannot be made clearer than this, we can surmise that the *nenbutsu* priests who were affiliated to the Jōdo sect conducted this kind of salvation in the city of Kamakura.

According to the laws of the Kamakura shogunate, it was prohibited to abandon sick people, orphans or corpses along the roadsides of Kamakura, and if found they were ordered to be taken to the *mujōd*ō 無常堂 in the second month of 1261 (Kōchō 1).[18] Judging from its name (lit.: 'Hall of Impermanence'), this Mujōdō was not an ofiice of the shogunate, but rather an establishment of a temple, and I tend to think that it was an establishment of one of the temples affiliated with the Jōdo sect which had considerable power in Kamakura at that time.

A *mujōdō*, as it had been prescribed by Genshin 源信 (942–1017) in his *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集[19] (completed in 982), had from the beginning been a place where one brought the sick, where they could prepare themselves for their dying hours and concentrate on rebirth in the Pure Land. There, the sick set their thoughts on Amitābha Buddha, recited his name and waited for the moment that his sacred assembly would appear to lead them to his Pure Land.

Though it does not explicitly say *hinin* in the laws of the shogunate, I think that the Jōdo affiliated *mujōdō* was an institution for their salvation, because it is likely that there were also leprosy sufferers among the sick who were left along the roadside. Moreover, it seems that the *mujōdō* was situated on the border of Kamakura, on the outskirts of the village of Kitafukazawa which was close to the Great Buddha. It was known as an institution for the salvation of *hinin* in Kamakura, and we can assume that Hamahiden and Daibutsuhiden, which were later on maintained by the Ritsu priests, were also at the outset established by the *nenbutsu* practitioners.

Legends of Hōnen

The real activities of Hōnen, who was said to be 'the most learned' priest of his day, are not certain. As one of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism, he too was deified and various legends grew up around him. Thus, the earlier commonly used method of combing through various historical sources to uncover the facts has only clarified a few of them. Here, instead, I would like to focus on the issue of what kind of legends grew up around him. In this way, we will see that there are legends about him regarding the salvation of *hinin*.

Hōnen's order gave rise to a great number of biographies and illustrated biographies. The oldest known illustrated biography is said to have been produced in 1237. Among these biographies is found the story about the dream of a 'bishop' (the *sōzu* 僧都)[20] Mhōhen 明遍 (1142–1224) which is found at such places as the sixteenth section of the *Shijuhachikanden* 四十八巻伝 (1316) and the third section of the *Rin'abon* 琳阿本 (latter part of the thirteenth century), and is worth noting in connection with the relationship between Hōnen and the *hinin*. It goes as follows:

> Bishop Mhōhen of Kōya saw the *Senchakushū*, which was written by saint Hōnen, and said that it was a good composition, but that it included bigotry. Thereafter, Mhōhen saw in a dream that an uncountable number of sick people were lying and suffering at the western gate of Shitennōji. There was a saint who put rice gruel in his bowl and poured it into the mouths of the sick with a shell. Upon

> asking who this holy man was, someone said that it was saint Hōnen, and having seen this, Mhōhen woke up from his dream …[21]

This story tells how Mhōhen saw in his dream the figure of Hōnen who personally gave rice gruel to the *hinin* found around the western gate of Shitennōji, and in the part that follows, we have Mhōhen's own interpretation of his dream.

As it is a dream, it has not been given any attention in earlier studies, but when we take into consideration that accounts of dreams or visions were a means by which people in those days gave expression to sacred experiences (extraordinary events), it should not be dismissed too quickly. What is more, it may reveal what contemporary people unconsciously wished from Hōnen. Therefore, this story should be given close scrutiny. First of all, in discussing *Sanshō Dayū*, I have already touched upon the fact that Shitennōji in Ōsaka was a place where the *hinin* lived together, which can also be understood from this story. Moreover, in the omitted part, Mhōhen interprets his vision by identifying the *hinin* with the ordinary man living in *mappō*, and the rice gruel with the ghee[22] of the *nenbutsu* meditation, and he comes to feel ashamed of himself for thinking that Hōnen's teachings 'included bigotry'. In Mhōhen's explanation of his vision, he expresses the idea that *hinin* represented ordinary people, and also the expectation that Hōnen would save them as well. Even discounting Mhōhen's interpretation of his dream, I think that from the fact that he dreamed of Hōnen giving rice gruel to the *hinin* in person, the unconscious idea of the people of his day that it was not strange if Hōhen did such a thing comes to light. Given that context, we can say that legends about his salvation of *hinin* are linked to the *nenbutsu* priest Hōnen as well.

Salvation Legends by Shinran and Ippen

Turning to Shinran, we can see that he, too, was believed to have worked to save *hinin*. At the scene of Shinran's cremation in the *Shinran eden* 親鸞絵伝 (completed in 1486 (Bunmei 18)) which has been handed down in Jōgūji 上宮寺 in Okazaki, Aichi prefecture, six *inujinin* 犬神人 (one of the groups that were taken as *hinin*, and who engaged themselves with such things as funerals

and executions) are depicted, grieving over his death. It is thought that these *inujinin* were converted by Shinran, and therefore they grieved at his death.

As regards the story concerning Shinran's salvation of *hinin*, some have argued that the image of the *inujinin* grieving over the saint's death in the Jōgūji scroll is a change in the picture, based on a new meaning added by the story-tellers, because it cannot be seen in the version of the same from Senjuji 専修寺 whose original is thought to have been compiled between 1295 (Einin 3) and 1343 (Kōei 2). Quite simply, the salvation of *inujinin* and *hinin* by Shinran is found to be a fable.[23] To be sure, no sources are known which say that Shinran and his adherents carried out the salvation of *hinin* at the end of the Kamakura period and during the Nanbokuchō period (1336–92). However, one must recognize the importance of the fact that legends relating to Shinran's salvation of *hinin* were ascribed to him as well.

On the other hand, in speaking of the salvation of *hinin* by *nenbutsu* priests, the founder of the Ji school Ippen and his followers are famous. In *the Ippen Shōnin Ekotobaden* 一遍上人絵詞伝 (of which the original was composed between 1304 and 1307) and *the Ippen Hijiri-e* 一遍聖絵[24] (completed in 1299) which recount his life in words and pictures, *hinin* – such as beggars, disabled people and leprosy sufferers – are drawn everywhere. The question why they pictured those who were discriminated against in the medieval period at every turn is of decisive importance in considering the character of both works, and the distinctive features of the order of the Ji priests. I think that it shows that the order of the Ji school was concerned with the existence of the *hinin*, and that it made an issue of their salvation.

For example, in the text to the first part of the third section of the *Ippen Shōnin Ekotobaden*, the story is written that the people (*machishū* 町衆) of the Kayatsu lodging in front of Jimokuji 甚目寺 in Owari, offered drinks and food to Ippen and his disciples, through a revelation in a dream from the Vaiśvavaṇa (J.: *Bishamonten*) of the same temple. Yet, when we look at the pictures, not just Ippen and his adherents are being served, but so are beggars, the disabled and leprosy patients of the Kayatsu lodging. In other words, the pictures of the *Ippen shōnin ekotoba*

den tell us that Ippen and his disciples collected the offerings of the people from the Kayatsu lodging and gave them as charity to the *hinin*. Thus, it can be argued that Ippen's order, too, conducted the salvation of *hinin*.

So far, we have seen how the *nenbutsu* priests performed the salvation of *hinin* as well, or how stories of *hinin* salvation were ascribed to the founders of their orders. As for the relationship of the Zen priests with the *hinin*, the salvation of leprosy victims by Mumon Gensen 無文元選 (1323–90) is well known. Mumon Gensen was a priest of the Rinzai school, and the founder of Hōkōji 方広寺 in Shizuoka prefecture. In spite of his imperial descent as the son of emperor Go-Daigo and Shōkeimon'in 昭慶門院 (1273–1324), there was a legend about him being abandoned underneath a bridge, where he carried out the salvation of leprosy sufferers. It is also a matter of common knowledge that the Zen priests performed the salvation of the poor including the *hinin* through the 'ceremony of giving in charity to the "hungry spirits"' (*segaki-e* 施餓鬼会). Therefore, we can safely say that the Zen priests, too, carried out *hinin* salvation.

There are also lgends about the salvation of *hinin* by the founder of the Shingi Kegon order, Myōe Kōben. After his death, the *Kōzanji Myōe shōnin gyōjō* was written by his disciple Kikai (1178–1250) and appeared in 1255; the text includes the following legend which allows us to assume that Myōe also worked for the salvation of *hinin*.[25] It says that Myōe, shortly after his *jukai*, having heard that Sakyamuni had sacrificed his life for the salvation of all sentient beings, was ready to lay down his own life to save the leprosy victims of Fujishiro ōji 藤代王子 in Kii province. This story teaches us that he was a priest of whom it would not be thought unlikely to conduct the salvation of *hinin*. In other words, it is a story which tells us of the possibility that Myōe Kōben, too, carried out the salvation of *hinin*.

As we can see, the medieval *tonseisō* performed the salvation of outcasts, or there exist legends asserting the same. It is notable that the *tonseisō* were thought of as those who saved *hinin*, or at least it was conceivable for them to have done so.

Notes

[1] The bacillus which causes leprosy usually lives on the peripheral nerves or in the skin, where it causes pathological changes. Symptoms can be seen such as the characteristic white spots that appear on the skin, called 'spot leprosy', numbness in the nerves becoming 'nerve leprosy', and the 'node leprosy' when nodes start to swell up. When these symptoms merge and advance, the skin which manifested the pathological changes becomes ulcerated and body parts like the nose, throat and eyes are overwhelmed by it, eventually reaching the internal organs and the bones. Up to the Second World War, it was thought to be an incurable illness, but after the war effective drugs were introduced and now chemotherapies using multi-drug therapies, as well as physiotherapy and surgical operations appeared, and even the seriously ill came to recover completely.

[2] See *Nihon koten bungaku taikei – Konjaku monogatari shū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1962), 201.

[3] *Konjaku monogatari* or *Konjaku* stories are collection of folklore compiled in the twelfth century. It contains more than a thousand folk tales. It consists of three parts – stories from India, China and Japan. All stories begin with the same phrase 'Ima wa Mukashi', which means 'once upon a time'. For English translations, see W.M. Kelsey: 'Konjaku Monogatari-shū' in *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 20 (1965) 121–150; and W. R. Wilson, 'The Way of the Bow and Arrow: The Japanese Warrior in Konjaku Monogatari ibid. vol. 28 (1973), 177–233.

[4] See Tokyo daigaku shiryō hensanjo, *Dainihon komonjo – Ie wake* No. 18, *Tōdaiji monjo* No. 11 (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1979) 148–150.

[5] Hannyaji is said to have been built in 629.

[6] See Tsunaya Watanabe, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei – Shasekishū*, 453.

[7] *Zaijarin* was written by Myōe in 1212.

[8] See Shigeo Kamata, Hisao Tanaka (ed.), *Nihon shisō taikei – Kamakura kyū bukkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971) 390.

[9] See Tokyo teikoku daigaku (comp.), *Dainihon shiryō* vol. 5–7 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shiryō hensanjo, 1930) 550.

[10] See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* Vol. 101 *Genkō shakusho* (Tokyo: Chō shobō, 1931) 166.

[11] Approximately 18 litres.

[12] This document, which dates from the seventeenth century, is still kept in the collection of Gokurakuji.

[13] See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* Vol. 101 *Genkō shakusho* (Tokyo: Chō shobō, 1931) 166. The *Genkō shakusho* was compiled by Kokan Shiren 虎関師錬 (1278–1346) in 1322.

[14] 'Sannin yoreba Monju no chie' 三人よれば文殊の知恵 is roughly equivalent to the English 'Two heads are better than one'.

[15] These two temples were founded when the capital was moved to Heian in 794. Tōji (lit.: 'Eastern Temple') and Saiji (lit.: 'Western Temple') were built on

either side of the southern gate (the 'Rashomon 羅城門') of the central avenue (the 'Suzaku ōji 朱雀大路') leading to the Imperial Palace, for the protection of the city. As opposed to Saiji, which was only short-lived, Tōji's buildings and vast collection of esoteric Buddhist art remain to this day.

[16] Toshio Kuroda, *Nihon Chūsei no Kokka to Shūkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1985), 540–543.

[17] See *Gyokukeiji Amida nyorai ritsuzō tainai monjo chōsa* (Shiga: Hōkokusho Gyokukeiji, 1981).

[18] See Shin'ichi Satō, Yoshisuke Ikeuchi(comp.), *Chūsei Hōsei Shiryō shū* Vol. 1 *Kamakura Bakufu Hō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1955) 214.

[19] Mizumaro Ishida (ed.), *Nihon shisō taikei* Vol. 6 *Genshin* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970). As English translations and studies of the *Ōjōyōshū*, the following works can be noted: A.K. Reischauer, 'Genshin's Ōjō Yōshū: Collected Essays on Birth Into Paradise' in *Transactions of the Asia Society of Japan* (Second Series), No. 7 (1930), 16–97; Allan A. Andrews, 'The Teachings Essential for Rebirth, a Study of Genshin' s Ōjōyōshū' (*Monumenta Nipponica* monograph) (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973); and Allan A. Andrews, 'Genshin's 'Essential of Pure Land Rebirth' and the Transmission of Pure Land Buddhism to Japan' in *The Pacific World* no. 5–7 (1989–1991), resp. 20–32, 1–15, 73–89.

[20] See note 35.

[21] See *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* Vol. 1 *Hōnen shōnin eden* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1981) 142, 143.

[22] J.; *daigo* 醍醐; Skt.: manda. Ghee or 'clarified butter' is the most refined among milk products, and as such it is often used as a metaphor for the supreme teaching of the Buddha, as opposed to his 'lesser' teachings.

[23] See Hideo Kuroda, 'Mibunsei Kenkyū to Kaiga Shiryō Bunseki no Hōhō' in *Buraku Mondai Kenkyū* 87 (1986).

[24] Respectively in *Yugyō Shōnin Engi-e* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1979) and in *Nihon Emaki Taisei (bekkan) – Ippen Shōnin Eden* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1978). On the latter, the following scholarship in English should be mentioned: James Harlan Foard, *Ippen Shōnin and Popular Buddhism in Kamakura Japan* (Ph.D., Stanford University, 1977); James Harlan Foard, 'Prefiguration and Narrative in Medieval Hagiography: The "Ippen Hijiri-e" in James H. Sanford, William La Fleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi (eds), *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 76–92; Laura S. Kaufman, 'Nature Courtly Imagery, and Sacred Meaning in the 'Ippen Hijiri-e' in *Flowing Traces*..., 47–75.

[25] *Myōe Shōnin Shiryō* Vol. I (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1971).

CHAPTER 9

THE SALVATION OF WOMEN



The kansō's *concept of women*

ONE OF THE fundamental differences between the activities of the *tonseisō* (reclusive monks) and the *kansō* (official monks), concerns their view of the salvation of women. Quite simply, whereas the *kansō* had nothing to do with the salvation of women as an organization, the *tonseisō* did.

To understand the *kansō*'s attitude towards women, the following story is helpful. It is an account from the biography of Kūkai (774–835) called the *Daishi on-gyōjō shūki*, which was compiled by the *kansō* in 1089 (Kanji 3). As the description goes, Kūkai laid down the rule that as 'women are the root of all evil and destroy all the good dharmas ... they should not be allowed into priestly quarters'. This may not be a historical fact, but even if it is a legend it remains important.

The *Daishi on-gyōjō shūki*, therefore, was not intended as a record for the purpose of accusing Kūkai of being 'a prejudiced person who had such an ideology of contempt for women'. The account was intended, rather, to celebrate his praiseworthy actions which should be seen as an example to others. So we find that the *kansō* who composed it and were affiliated to the Shingon school truly believed these things and accordingly had nothing to do with women.[1]

Self-evidently, this prescription was enforced in order to ensure that the priests followed their precepts; nevertheless, it is important to recognize the view that 'women are the root of all evil, and destroy all the good dharmas' is given as its *raison d'être*. For if it was only meant for the observance of the precepts, it

should have been enough to say that when women come close to the priestly quarters, the danger existed that the priests would experience carnal desires and transgress the precepts.

Moreover, *kansō* temples like Mt Hiei, Mt Kōya, Tōdaiji and Daigoji, were well-known for their exclusion of women, and why they avoided them can be found in the pages of Hōnen's *Muryōjukyō shaku*:

> It is said that at the venerable and highest holy places[2] in this land of Japan and when miracles occur, all [women] were despised without exception. To begin with [the Enryakuji on] Mt Hiei, was founded by Dengyō daishi [Saichō], and according to the wishes of Emperor Kanmu. The great teacher personally 'enclosed the area', binding the valleys and limiting the peaks, in order to exclude the form of a woman. He set up the summit of the 'One Vehicle',[3] and never did the clouds of the Five Hindrances soar over it; he deepened the valleys of the one teaching, and never did the waters of the Three Submissions flow [there]. The sacred image of Bhaisajya-guru resounded in [women's] ears, but was not seen by their eyes. They saw the sacred place enclosed by the great teacher from afar, but never came close. Mt Kōya is the peak enclosed by Kōbō daishi [Kūkai], and is the ground for the prosperity of the supreme vehicle of Shingon. Though one says that the moon of the 'Three Secrets'[4] shines widely, it does not illuminate the gloom of the incapability of women, and though it is said that the 'water of wisdom in the five pitchers'[5] flows equally, it was not poured on the dirt and defilement of women. At these places still, they have their impediments, how much even more in the Pure Land beyond the Three Realms ...[6,7]

To sum up, it says the following. It explains, giving the examples of Enryakuji on Mt Hiei and Kongōbuji on Mt Kōya, that women were not permitted to visit the exalted holy places of the land of Japan, or to pay homage to its temples of miraculous virtue, much less are they expected to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land.

We can understand from it how women are hampered by their 'Five Hindrances' and 'Three Submissions', as defiled beings, lacking the potential to attain enlightenment. First of all, the 'Five Hindrances' (Skt.: *pañca gotrāni*; J.: *goshō* 五障) refer to the five states of the king of the Brahma Heaven (J.: *Bonten* 梵天), Indra (J.: *Taishakuten* 帝釈天), king of devils (J.: *Maō* 魔王), Wheel-turning king (Skt.: *Cakravartin*; J.: *Tenrinnō* 転輪王), and

Buddha, which women cannot attain according to the beliefs of the earliest period of Buddhism in India. The point that they cannot become a buddha is of particular importance, and it formed the background for the *tennyo jōbutsu* 転女成仏, which teaches the theory of being reborn as a man first and then attaining buddhahood. The 'Three Submissions' (J.: *sanju* or *sanshō* 三従) confirm that women obey their fathers before their marriage, their husbands during their marriage and their sons after their husbands have died. They were excluded because their autonomy was not acknowledged. The expression 'incapable' shows that it was thought that they were deficient in any of the essential qualities required to attain enlightenment.

In addition, as *Muryōjukyō shaku* refers to the 'dirt and defilement of women', regarding them as impure beings. It is thought that this was connected to menstruation and childbirth – a view reflected in Shintō rituals and at court, where women during menstruation or in childbirth were kept at a distance, being thought of as defiled beings. It is clear, therefore, that the *kansō* regarded women as being hampered by the Five Hindrances and the Three Submissions, and perceived them as defiled beings with no possibility of attaining enlightenment.

The kansō's *concept of the salvation of women*

So this was the *kansō* view of women. But, we cannot say that they did not address the questions of women's rebirth in the Pure Land or their attainment of enlightenment at all. In *kansō* writings like the *Shijūhachiganshaku* by Chikō 智光 (709-?) and the *Kubon Ōjōgi* 九品往生義 by Ryōgen 良源 (912–985) and the *Jōdogonshokushō* and *An'yōshō*, which were both compiled sometime from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth centuries, theories about the rebirth of women in the Pure Land and about their attainment of buddhahood, which are based on the theory of the Five Hindrances and the Three Submissions, are heavily disputed.

We cannot necessarily say that what was general knowledge in the world of the *kansō* was passed on to the ordinary people as well, or that the *kansō* dealt with the salvation of women systematically as an organization. At this point, let us consider how the

kansō approached the subject of women and their salvation, beginning with how they dealt with the applicants wishing to enter the priesthood.

The salvation of women in medieval Buddhism is a key issue, because it can naturally be expected that there were *kansō* who worked for their salvation on an individual level, but not necessarily as a group. Moreover, we should take notice of the attitude of the *kansō* with regard to all women, instead of concentrating only on the high-born such as empresses and the wives of aristocrats.

Official nuns excluded from the state precepts-platforms

The first professional practitioners of Buddhism in Japan were women like Zenshin-ni (late-sixth century), and so it would appear that from the outset they were not discriminated against in Buddhist society. But in the eighth century, after the establishment of official priests and official nuns, the status of official nuns declined with the passage of time. As from the middle of the eighth century they were excluded from religious services for the state, and from the beginning of the ninth century onwards, even their admission to the priesthood itself came to be subject to restrictions. There are many differing opinions as to why this happened. One view is the strong influence of Confucianism.

As noted earlier, the *kansō* could become members of the ranks of fully-fledged priests by passing through a two-fold rite of passage, namely entrance into the priesthood (*shukke* 出家 *tokudo* 得度) and full ordination (*jukai* 授戒). Ever since the establishment by Ganjin of a national *jukai* system, it was necessary to receive the *jukai* ceremony either at one of the Three Nara precepts-platforms, or at the Hiei precepts-platform after its establishment at Enryakuji. As for nuns, the *jukai* at the precepts-platform was prescribed in the *Engishiki*, but as temples like Enryakuji and Tōdaiji were closed to women, official nuns were excluded from the national *jukai* at such state platforms. However, it is not the case that there was no movement at all among those demanding the foundation of a precepts-platform for the *jukai* of nuns, called *ama kaidan* in Japanese. For example, the tenth century *Jikaku daishi den* tells us that the empress

dowager of emperor Junna 淳和 (786–840) who entered the priesthood in 842 (Jōwa 9), requested the establishment of a precepts-platform for nuns,[8] but, it was not done.

The daughter of Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027), Shōshi 彰子 (988–1074, Jōtōmon'in; Buddhist name: Seijōkaku) tried to establish a precepts-platform for nuns at Hōjōji. Shōshi had become a nun in the first month of 1026 (Manju 3) at the age of thirty-nine, and wished to receive her ordination at a precepts-platform for women. Accordingly, it was built at Hōjōji the following year. However, it is not clear whether ordinations were performed at this platform for nuns other than Shōshi as well; but it is known that it was destroyed by fire in 1058 (Tengi 6).

The *Eiga monogatari* story talks about the foundation of this precepts-platform, stating that 'all the nuns of the world rejoiced in it'.[9] Even if this phrase is no more than a rhetorical embellishment by the author of the story, it is clear that there were women, like the nun Shōshi, who sought ordination following the Buddhist teachings. Even so, although it is not certain because of a lack of other corroborating sources, it does seem that the precepts-platform for nuns at Hōjōji was just a transitory affair, intended only for Shōshi.

It is clear, therefore, as with the *jukai*, that official nuns were shut out from the state precepts-platforms. Accordingly, it can be assumed that there were no *bhiksuni*, or fully-ordained nuns, observing the Buddhist teachings among the official nuns.

Exclusion from the denbō kanjō

From the ninth century onwards, the Buddhism which the *kansō* studied and researched, which I shall call '*kansō* Buddhism', fell more and more under the influence of esoteric Buddhism. In the world of esoteric Buddhism, the 'Dharma anointment' (Skt.: abhiṣeka; J.: *denbō kanjō*) is granted to those who have mastered its deepest meanings. Dharma anointment refers to the ceremony for ascending to the level of the Buddha, and in which water symbolizing the five-fold wisdom of the Buddha (Skt.: pañca jñānāni; J.: *gochi*) is sprinkled on the head of the disciple. The Dharma anointment is performed primarily to confer the secret teachings of Mahāvairocana (J.: *Dainichi*) on those who

wish to become teachers. We can say that this guarantees the attainment of buddhahood by the recipient. Those who had received this sacred water were given an esoteric certificate. In the world of the *kansō*, this anointment came to be performed upon the accession of the emperor and was a formality which had no actual religious meaning.

A great number of esoteric certificates have survived up to the present day. However, no certificates of official nuns are known to exist. Rather than being a coincidence in the way in which the sources survived, this perhaps indicates that the anointment was not conferred on official nuns. This issue is closely related to the salvation of women, especially to their attainment of buddhahood, and it shows that the *kansō* did not open the way to enlightenment for official nuns.

Dōgen and the tennyo jōbutsu *theory*

Like the *kansō*, most of the *tonseisō* held a similarly contemptuous view of women. This was due to the fact that even the 'Chapter on Devadatta' (J.: 'Daibadatta bon') of the *Lotus Sutra*, on which many of the *tonseisō* depended for their view of the salvation of women, holds the theories of *tennyo jōbutsu* and *henjō nanji* – that is that women can be saved only by being transformed into men first.

Dōgen, for example, in stating on the one hand that 'There is one laughable matter in the land of Japan. It is that which is either referred to as the so-called "enclosed area" or again as the "place of practice and learning of Mahayana", where for a long time the evil custom has been transmitted of not giving entrance to *bhikṣuṇī* or other women',[10] he criticizes the practices of temples like Enryakuji, which were closed to women, as a subject of derision. Yet, on the other hand, he endorses the theories of *henjō nanji* and *tennyo jōbutsu*, saying that attainment of buddhahood in a 'female body' is impossible.[11] In other words, similar to the view of the *kansō*, with regard to the enlightenment of women, the *tonseisō* did not believe, as is the case today, in the equality of the sexes. However, the *tonseisō* did indeed put their efforts into a form of salvation for women with a very different organizational sense from that of the *kansō*,

Among these *tonseisō* only Nichiren preaches (in such works as his *Nyonin jōbutsu shō*[12] (1265)), that women can attain buddhahood within their female existence (J.: *nyoshin jōbutsu*) even while accepting the view of their Five Hindrances. Unusually, he held the view that while all the other sutras state the opposite, only the *Lotus Sutra* proclaims that women can reach enlightenment, and he preached that when women chant the name of the *Lotus Sutra* they will be able to attain buddhahood within their female body.

However, when considering the Middle Ages as a whole, apart from its final years, those who received the overwhelmingly large amount of female support were the *tonseisō* of the Zen, Ritsu and *nenbutsu* groups, all of which based their ideas on the *tennyo jōbutsu* theory. Judging from this fact, that the women of those times used to be regarded as 'defiled' beings, what was important was whether a group actively offered the possibility of salvation or not, rather than the problem as to whether or not a woman could attain enlightenment in her female body.

Salvation of women by Hōnen's order

In talking about the salvation of women by the *tonseisō*, one cannot leave out the salvation activities of Hōnen's order. The fact that Hōnen and his *nenbutsu* priests urged women to the faith in the *nenbutsu* will be obvious from the following historical sources. Namely, in the work by Jien 慈円 (1155–1225, who is taken as a representative of the *kansō*) the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (completed in 1220), it is recorded that: 'In the years of Ken'ei (1206–07), there was a holy man called Hōnenbō. Making the capital his home, he founded a *nenbutsu* sect, by the name of *senju nenbutsu*, which was supported by foolish and ignorant nuns, and prospering in the world it achieved great success.'[13] Thus, it tells us that Hōnen started his *nenbutsu* sect and had 'foolish' nuns as his believers.

In addition, the incident which gave rise to the Jōgen Persecution (1207) causing the exile of Hōnen and the ban on *senju nenbutsu*, is also indicative of the efforts at salvation of women by Hōnen's adherents. In 1206, ex-emperor Go-toba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239)who was in power at the time, had made a pilgrimage to the Kumano *jinja* shrine. It came to light that on that occasion, the wives of the ex-emperor had taken part in a special *nenbutsu*

service which was held by Hōnen's disciples Anraku 安楽 (d.1207) and Jūren 住蓮 (d.1207), and that they had stayed out overnight. Since the ex-emperor's favourite had been among them, the affair lead to Anraku and Juren's execution and developed into the Jōgen persecution. This occurrence demonstrates the fact that Hōnen's adherents had women as their objects of salvation.

Hōnen's concept of the salvation of women

Let us now consider Hōnen's view of the salvation of women. As a primary source for his view of the salvation of women, we have only the *Muryōjukyōshaku*. It is thought that this work is a transcription of the lecture which he gave in the second month of 1190 (Bunji 6) at the request of Shunjōbo Chōgen at Tōdaiji before its *kansō*.

In his explanation in the *Muryōjukyōshaku* of why the salvation of women is preached especially in the 35th vow expounded in the Muryōjukyō, Hōnen mentions the *tennyo ōjō* theory based on the theories of the Five Hindrances and the Three Submissions. Hence, it is conceivable that in outline Hōnen held to the *tennyo ōjō* theory (being reborn as a man first and then being reborn in the Pure Land; resembling the *tennyo jōbutsu* theory) based also on those of the Five Hindrances and the Three Submissions.

However, the theory exists which praises Hōnen for not preaching such a view of the salvation of women positively, since it is a 'questionable' way of thinking – in the first place holding a view of contempt for women and because it is not even sightly touched upon in Hōnen's main work, the *Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū*. It says that Hōnen only expounded such a 'questionable' theory on women's salvation because it was before the priests of Tōdaiji.[14] Yet, this hypothesis that Hōnen did not discuss the salvation of women in his *Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū* because its 'doubtfulness' had come to his notice as a result of the development of his thinking, is not corroborated by historical sources.

Though it is a source once removed, when we take a look at the theory of one of Hōnen's direct disciples Chōsai (1184–1266), who is seen as the founder of the *Shogyō hongangi* tradition within

the Pure Land sect, we find that he urged people to examine closely the matters which Hōnen did not write about in the *Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū* in his commentaries on the three sutras[15] of the Pure Land sect.[16] To put it simply, among Hōnen's disciples the *Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū* and his commentaries on the three Pure Land sutras were thought to have a mutual supplementary relationship. Therefore, as for the places where the *Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū* and the *Muryōjukyōshaku* are not in indubitable contradiction, considering Hōnen's belief that these works are supplementary to each other seems to be the most reasonable interpretation. That said, judging from the *Muryōjukyōshaku*, it can still be argued that Hōnen stood by the *tennyo* (*jōbutsu* 成仏) theory, based on those of the Five Hindrances and Three Submissions.

Moreover, if one tries to argue that Hōnen explained such a 'questionable' theory about the salvation of women because he was standing in front of the priests of Tōdaiji, it follows that Hōnen was a hypocrite, and it is certainly hard to believe that. However, even if that were the case, would not the things which he told the priests, and not what he said in front of women, really reveal his true convictions?

Hōnen's salvation of a prostitute

Hōnen and his order actually carried out the salvation of women. But the legend about Hōnen saving prostitutes is false. It says that Hōnen, who was exiled to Sanuki during the Jōgen Persecution, delivered the following sermon to the prostitutes who came to see him at one of the stops on his journey. One of them asked him 'Is a woman like me – or even more, someone who has a disreputable occupation like a prostitute – able to be reborn in the Pure Land?' In reply, he explained to them that 'Amitābha has taken his oath for sinful human beings like you, and when you resort to his "vow to save all sentient beings" (J.: *hongan*) and recite "*Namu Amidabutsu*" you can be reborn in the Pure Land.' It says that the prostitutes were deeply touched by the vastness of Amitābha's compassion, who indiscriminately saves any human being, and they could not hold back their tears.

Though this story can be found in such sources as the *Hōnen*

shōnin eden[17] it has been proved to be a legend. Nevertheless, the fact that such a legend has falsely attached itself to Hōnen is critical, because in the legend ascribed to Kūkai by the *kansō* as mentioned earlier, it says that he laid down the stipulation that women, as 'the root of all evil, and who destroy all the good dharmas, should not be allowed into the priests' quarters'. To Hōnen on the other hand, a legend was ascribed which stands out in contrast with this.

Legends about Hōnen provided a model for the lives of the *nenbutsu* priests and believers of his order, and this story shows that they treated even prostitutes as the object of their salvation activities. In other words, it indicates that Hōnen's order tried to save even prostitutes who were the most disdained even among women.

Foundation of nunneries by Ritsu and Zen priests

The *tonseisō* built nunneries where women could pursue a life of Buddhist practice in a secure environment. In speaking of nunneries, the counter-argument can be made that they had already been established for official nuns, as is obvious from the foundation of the state-sponsored nunneries (*kokubunniji*) in the various provinces, which were represented by Hokkeji in Nara. Yet, from the ninth century, most of these nunneries fell into decline or disuse and subsequently became temples for (male) priests or simply branch-temples of the priests' temples. Even Hokkeji had reached a perilous state by the beginning of the Kamakura period, when the nuns had little food and clothing, and its walls had begun to crumble.

However, the *tonseisō* built many nunneries in various provinces, and in other cases they 'revived' declining nunneries, turning them into *tonseisō*-affiliated ones. It is worth noting in particular that those nunneries which were founded in the medieval period belonged to the *tonseisō* orders.

Those who carried out conspicuous activities in the establishment of nunneries, were the Ritsu and the Zen priests. This is in part because they attached great importance to the precepts, and could not approve of priests and nuns living together, so it was necessary for them to build nunneries; but also because the

tonseisō orders were the religious groups that expanded their powers most of all during the Middle Ages. The following brief illustration concerning the nunneries of the *tonseisō* is instructive.

The Ritsu priests of Eizon founded (or 'revived') more than twenty nunneries from Kyushū in the south to the north beyond the Kantō. These include such institutions as Myōhōji in Hizen (present-day Saga prefecture), Hokkeji and Chūguji in Yamato, Dōmyōji in Kawachi (present-day Ōsaka prefecture), Kaiganniji in Musashi (present-day Kanagawa prefecture) and Mimura-amadera in Hitachi (present-day Ibaraki prefecture). The fact that they 'revived' Hokkeji in Nara (the head of the state nunneries) and that they finally made it into a Ritsu temple is especially notable. This is because the Ritsu nuns who had studied at Hokkeji dispersed to the nunneries in the provinces, and undertook salvation activities and education projects for nuns throughout the country.

Within the Zen sect, the Rinzai and the Sōtō sects were the two great holders of power. It is not clear how Eisai, who is treated as the founder of the Rinzai school, preached on the salvation of women. Nevertheless, within the Rinzai school more than fifteen nunneries were established, the 'Five great Kyōto nunneries' (Kyōto ama gozan 京都尼五山, officialy the 'Five great nunneries of the capital' or Keichō ama gozan 京兆尼五山) which include Tsūgenji 通玄寺, Danrinji 壇林寺, Erinji 恵林寺 and Gonenji 護念寺 headed by Keiaiji 景愛寺; or the 'Five great Kamakura nunneries' (Kamakura ama gozan 鎌倉尼五山) consisting of Tōkeiji 東慶寺, Kokuonji 国恩寺, Gohōji 護法寺, and Zenmyōji 禅明寺 with Taiheiji 太平寺 at the head.[18] Though now a priests' temple, Tōkeiji in Kamakura, which has as its founder Kakusanni, the wife of Hōjō Tokimune, is especially famous as a 'separation temple' (*enkiridera*) where women in the Edo period who wished to have their marriage annulled took refuge, and had their divorce granted after they had lived there for three years.

Salvation of women by the disciples of Dōgen, Myōe, Hōnen and Nichiren

One cannot be certain that the founder of the Sōtō sect, built nunneries. However, Dōgen, a group of nuns beginning with

Ryōnen-ni 了然尼 (n.d.) belonged to his followers. In particular, as far as Ryōnen-ni is concerned, it is said that 'even though she was a woman, with a will no different from that of a man, she made great efforts at the practices, and therefore was granted the deepest meaning of Zen'.[19]

Among Dōgen's adherents, it is worth noting the salvation of women activities by Keizan Jōkin (1268–1325). On the twenty-third day of the fifth month of 1325 (Shōchū 2), he made two selfless vows. It is said that one of these was to uphold the prayer for the salvation of women (*joryū saido* 女流済度) which he had received in the testament of his mother Ekan-ni 慧観尼 (n.d.). Many nuns such as Sonin 祖忍 (n.d.) came together under him, and nunneries were founded. Five such nunneries are known, beginning with Jōjuji 浄住寺 in Kaga. (present-day Ishikawa prefecture) which takes Ekan-ni as its founder.

Myōe's order (the Shingi Kegon 新義華厳 sect) founded Zenmyōniji 善妙尼寺 in Yamashiro. Zenmyōniji was a nunnery built by Zen-ni, the widow of Nakamikado Muneyuki 中御門宗行 (d.1221) to pray for the repose of her husband's departed soul, and received a statue of Śākyamuni which had been installed in Kōzanji as its principal image. The inauguration ceremony of the nunnery was held in 1223. Nakamikado Muneyuki had been one of the leaders of the Jōkyu Disturbance (1221), and it seems that many widows who had lost their husbands during this uprising entered Zenmyōniji. In the middle ages as the disruption of war continued, there were many wives and daughters who lost their husbands and fathers. The nunneries also served the key function of providing a safe haven for these women.

The orders which put a lot of stress on the precepts, even within the Pure Land sect, also established nunneries. No-no-miya no amadera in Kyoto is one of them. The line which combined both the practice of the precepts and *nenbutsu*, founded Shōmyōji and Ekōji 恵光寺 in Ise, Saijōji 西盛寺 and Saifukuji 西福寺 in Iga, and Entsuan in Ōmi as five nunneries for the 'constant recitation of the *nenbutsu*' (J.: *fudan nenbutsu* 不断念仏). A further four temples, including Gyokudenji 玉伝寺 in Kai (present-day Yamanashi prefecture), are known as nunneries of the Ji school.

As for the Nichiren school, Zuiryūji 瑞竜寺 in Kyōto has been

recorded as a place for the *bhikṣuṇī* nuns of this school, according to the *Ōtani honganji tsūki* 大谷本願寺通紀[20] which was compiled at the end of the eighteenth century. Though it is not clear whether this is a temple from the medieval period there were nunneries of the Nichiren school as well.

Foundation of precepts-platforms for nuns

As we have seen, nuns could not receive their ordination at one of the state precepts-platforms, and, with the exception of the one at Hōjōjii, which was set up temporarily for Fujiwara Michinaga's daughter Shōshi, no precepts-platforms for nuns were built.

However, the order of Eizon which attached much importance to the precepts and developed the *jukai* system, set up precepts-platforms for nuns, and established a *jukai* system for them as well as in accordance with Buddhist teachings. Eizon and his Ritsu priests commenced the 'revival' of Hokkeji around 1245 (Kangen 3), and later on made it into their branch-temple. Then, they established a precepts-platform for its nuns. On the sixth day of the second month of 1249 (Kenchō 1), Eizon conferred the precepts for *bhiksuni* in Hokkeji to twelve of them, and this was the beginning of the Hokkeji platform for nuns,[21] which had a pagoda as its centre.

The precepts text on which Eizon and his adherents depended was the *Dharmagupta-vinaya*, according to which it was necessary to receive the precepts at two platforms in order to become a *bhiksuni*: once at the precepts-platform for nuns, and then once more at the platform of a temple for (male) priests. To accomplish this, the *bhiksuni* of Eizon's order received their *jukai* ceremony at the Hokkeji platform and received it once more at Saidaji or another priestly temple's precepts-platform. Unlike the state platforms, nuns were not excluded from the precepts-platforms at the temples for (male) priests of Eizon's order.

The *tonseisō* occupied themselves in a positive way with the activities for the salvation of women, but here the Dharma anointment conferred to nuns should be especially highlighted. As described above, in esoteric Buddhism the Dharma anointment was granted to those who had mastered its deepest teachings. The orders of Myōe, Eizon and Echin admitted this anointment to nuns as well.

Furthermore, in the case of Eizon's order, about which many sources have survived, we learn from the phrases on its esoteric certificates that it was thought that through ascetic practices the Five Hindrances of women could be extinguished. In Eizon's order, the Five Hindrances were not obstacles which could not be avoided – rather it was thought possible to actually eliminate them through practice.

Dharma anointment for nuns was not conducted by the *kansō*, a fact which evinces a definitive difference between the salvation of women by the *tonseisō* and that of the *kansō*. Because this anointment is closely related to the guarantee of enlightenment, the *tonseisō* may very well have tried to open the way to the attainment of buddhahood for women within their female bodies.

Shinran's order and the salvation of women

In speaking of Kamakura New Buddhism, whilst the reader may be familiar with the order of Shinran (the Jōdo shin sect), when seen from the whole span of the Middle Ages, it was a very small sect and only became powerful at the end of the medieval period.

We have just examined cases of the establishment of nunneries and the Dharma anointment conferred on nuns, but stories about similar activities by Shinran's sect have not as yet come to light. This apparent lack is surely due to the fact that his order neither insisted upon the separation of priests and nuns nor built nunneries, and that, since it was not esoteric, it did not conduct such anointments.

Of course, Shinran's order carried out the salvation of women. Shinran is particularly famous for the '*nyobonge*', the account of a revelation which he received in a dream from Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva during a retreat in the Rokkakudō in 1201 (Kennin 1).[22] Its contents stated that even if a practitioner had had sexual relations (J.: *nyobon* 女犯), Avalokitesvara appearing in the body of a woman would glorify the whole lifespan of the practitioner, and would let the practitioner be reborn in the Pure Land at the hour of his death. That is the starting point which led to Shinran's affirmation of marriage, and his assertion that women – being manifestations of the bodhisattva – attainment of buddhahood could be promised to priests through their association with

women, which is clearly very different to the *kansō*'s concept of women.

However, Shinran's view of women's salvation still clung to the *tennyo jōbutsu* theory based on those of the Five Hindrances and the Three Submissions, similar to the Buddhism of the *kansō*. This fact can be determined from his main work of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, but it has also been recorded in what he told the general populace, in particular in the *Jōdowasan* 浄土和讃 (1248) and the *Kōsōwasan* 高僧和讃 (1248). For example, in 'Daikyōi' of the *Jōdowasan*, it says that 'since Amitābha's compassion is deep, revealing the mysteries of the buddha's wisdom, he made the vow of *henjō nanji* and pledged the enlightenment of women'.[23] Likewise, in the *Kōsōwasan* he wrote: 'Since the Five Hindrances will not leave one's body when one does not rely on the prayer of Amitābha's name, even if innumerable kalpas come to pass, how can one transform the female body [and attain buddhahood]?'[24] It is worth noting that, even while basing his teachings on the *tennyo jōbutsu* theory, which was based on the principle of the Five Hindrances and the Three Submissions, Shinran in general preached that women could attain enlightenment.

View of female impurity and the tonseisō

To conclude, we can clarify the origins of the difference between the *tonseisō* and the *kansō* through their activities relating to the salvation of women. Briefly, this came about as a result of the fact that the *tonseisō* were 'free' from the restrictions of the *kansō*, especially from the 'avoidance of defilement'. The *tonseisō*'s concept of salvation was also based on the theories of the Five Hindrances and the Three Submissions (the theory about the Five Hindrances of the Ritsu priests was peculiar to their order), and of *tennyo jōbutsu* (Nichiren was an exception here), and on their view concerning the impurity of women (J.: *nyonin fujōkan*). It follows from this that, even though the *tonseisō* and the *kansō* shared the same basic assumptions, the *kansō* in the Middle Ages did not engage in the salvation of women as an organization, while the *tonseisō* did. In such cases, the idea about the limited religious capacity of women did not stop the *tonseisō* from offering the hand of salvation to them.

The view of defilement was extremely important to the *kansō* who avoided impurity, and I tend to think that this was the background which prevented them from having a systematic approach to the salvation of women. On the other hand, the *tonseisō* had become 'free' from the restrictions of the *kansō*, and they did not even try to avoid such defilement. They promoted arguments which overcame the impurity, like cases of religious fund-raising, funerals and the salvation of outcasts. It is for this reason that they were able to approach the enlightenment of women in a more pragmatic way.

Notes

[1] See *Kōbō daishi den zenshū* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Pitaka (repr.) 1977) 165.
[2] Skt.: simā-bandha; J.: *kekkai* 結界. Purifying an area for a ritual or the establishment of a temple by setting up a boundary around (literally: 'binding') it.
[3] Skt.: ekayāna; J.: *ichijō* 一乗. The 'One Vehicle' or the single path leading to enlightenment, as described in the *Lotus sutra* which is the basic scripture for the Tendai school.
[4] J.: *sanmitsu* 三密. The 'three mystic practices' of body, speech and mind through which one seeks to attain unification with a buddha or bodhisattva in esoteric Buddhism.
[5] J.: *gobyō no chisui* 五瓶の智水. Water in the five pitchers, symbolizing the wisdom of the Buddha which is to be conferred on the recipient of an esoteric initiation.
[6] J.: 三界. The 'Three Realms' of the world of transmigration, namely the realm of desire (Skt.: kāma-dhātu; J.: *yokkai* 欲界), the realm of form (Skt.: rūpa-dhatu; J.:*shikikai* 色界), and the realm of non-form (Skt.: ārūpya-dhātu J.: *mushikikai* 無色界).
[7] See *Nihon shisō taikei* Vol. 10 *Hōnen Ippen* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971) 55.
[8] See *Zoku gunshoruijū* 8–2 (Tokyo: Zoku gunshoruijū kanseikai, 1978) 695.
[9] See *Eiga monogatari* Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965) 266. This story about the rise to grandeur of the Fujiwara – of which the first thirty main volumes were written between 1028 and 1037 and of which ten supplementary volumes were composed shortly after 1092 – has been translated into English by William H. and Helen Craig McCullough: *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*: *Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).
[10] In: '*Reihaitokuzui*' of Dogen's *Shōbōgenzō* (written between 1231 and 1253). See *Nihon shisō taikei* vol. 12 Dogen vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970) 327.
[11] In: 'Shūkke kudoku' of the *Shōbōgenzō*. See *Nihon shisō taikei* Vol. 13 *Dōgen* Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970) 323.
[12] In: Rissho daigaku Nichiren kyōgaku Kenkyū jo (comp.), *Shōwa teihon*

Nichiren shōnin ibun Vol. 1 (Minobu: Sohonzan Minobu Kuonji, 1952) 332–336.

[13] See *Nihon koten bungaku taikei – Gukanshō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967) 294. An English translation of the Gukanshō has been written by Delmer M. Brown and Ichiro Ishida: *The Future and the Past: a translation and study of the Gukanshō, an interpretative history of Japan written in 1219* (Berkeley: University of Califonia Press, 1979).

[14] Masayuki Taira, 'Nyonin ōjōron no rekishiteki hyōka wo megutte'. In: *Nihon Chūsei no shakai to bukkyō (*Tokyo:Hanawa shobō, 1992).

[15] This set of three sutras consists of the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sutra (J: *Muryōjukyō* 無量寿経), the Smaller Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sutra (J.: *Amidakyō* 阿弥陀経) and the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sutra (J.: *Kanmuryōjukyō* 観無量寿経). Honen's *Muryōjukyōshaku* is a commentary on the first of these sutras. An English translation of the three sutras has been written by Hisao Inagaki and Harold Stewan: *The Three Pure Land Sutras: a Study and Translation from Chinese* (Kyoto: Nagata bunshōdō, 1994).

[16] In *the Nenbutsu hongan gi* (1300). See *Jōdoshū zensho* Vol. 8 (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1971) 456.

[17] In the 34th volume of *the Honen shōnin eden*. See: *Zoku nihon emaki taisei* Vol. 2 *Hōnen shōnin eden* vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1981) 149, 150.

[18] Muromachi Zen used the term 'five mountains' (*gozan*) to refer to the five most eminent temples of the sect in various locations, in imitation of the lists of temples for priests, the nunneries were grouped in sets of five as well.

[19] In 'Hōgo', in the eighth volume of the *Eihei kōroku* (1253). See: *Zōho kaitei Nihon daizōkyō* vol. 88 *Zenshū sōsho* Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976) 302.

[20] See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* Vol. 132 (Tokyo: Bussho kankokai, 1912) 242.

[21] Concerning the salvation of women by Eizon's oder, see Kenji Matsuo, Official Monks and Reclusive Monks: Focusing on the Salvation of Women, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 64, No. 3, 2001. Concerning Hokkeji and its *jukai* ceremony, see Kenji Matsuo, *Kanjin to Hakai no Chūseishi*, 勧進と破戒の中世史 (Tokyo:Yoshikwakō bunkan,1995) Chapter 5.

[22] See *Shinshū nihon emakimono zenshū* vol. 20 *Zenshin shōnin e* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1978) 75.

[23] See *Shinshū shōgyō zensho* Vol. 2 *Shūso bu* (Kyoto: Shinshū shōgyō zensho hensanjo, 1987), 493.

[24] Op. cit., p. 508.

CHAPTER 10

THE LOGIC OF FUNERALS – THE SALVATION OF THE DECEASED



A reassessment of 'funerary Buddhism'

IN MAY 1994, I came across a newspaper report concerning an incident which had occurred in a town in Yamanashi prefecture. I found it very interesting. The town's authorities had decided to cremate an unidentified corpse (let us refer to him as 'Mr A') at the expense of the town itself. Later on, it transpired that Mr A had been an Iranian. The authorities then contacted the Iranian embassy, but far from being grateful for the fact that the town had been willing to cremate him in good faith with its own money, the embassy strongly objected to it. The reason was that according to Islamic faith, cremation is an act that condemns the person to hell and expressed their surprise that the innocent Mr A had been arbitrarily cremated. (Probably, the fact that Mr A was given a Buddhist instead of an Islamic funeral ceremony was one of the problems too.) There, the differences between the funeral customs of the believers of the Islamic faith and present-day Japanese were shown clearly in stark contrast, and it was an 'incident' which could easily have turned into an international crisis had it not been handled carefully. It demonstrated the fact that the way a corpse is treated reveals a society's view of the other world, and the religious ideas that are applied to such a view.

In speaking of Japanese priests today, they are prone to be thought of as people who are preoccupied with matters relating to funerals. This is because, as the expression 'funerary Buddhism' (*sōshiki bukkyō* 葬式仏教) indicates, the times that

ordinary people encounter priests are limited to funerals and services on the anniversary of someone's death. Indeed, priests have effectively become the supervisors of the graveyards within the precincts of their temples.

The expression 'funerary Buddhism', which includes criticism of the current state of its practitioners, is thought to be a degenerate form of Buddhism. In recent years, attention in the mass media has focused on funeral rites known as 'natural funeral' or 'scattering the ashes' in which one scatters the pulverized bones and ashes of the deceased in the mountains or the sea and 'gives them back to nature'. I take the view that such rites are also inherently a sort of criticism of traditional 'funerary Buddhism'. In fact, the funeral fee paid to priests is very high; for example, the cost of my mother's funeral fee was over $10,000.

There are four types of funeral, that is, burial, cremation, sky burial and water burial. Among ordinary people, the most popular type of funeral before the Meiji period (1868–1912) was burial, while among priests cremation was the preferred choice. The first cremation is said to have been that of Dōshō 道昭 (629–700) in 700. Dōshō was a priest who lived at Gangoji in Nara, affiliated to the Hossō school. After him, burial began to be more common among people of noble birth, including emperors and empresses.

The fact that priests came to engage themselves in funerals in the first place was a significant event that depended on the *tonseisō*. The shift was ideologically also very significant. As we have seen, the question whether one presided over a funeral or not, is one of the key differences in the activities of the *kansō* as opposed to the *tonseisō*. Although Buddhist institutions are generally thought of as engaging in funerals, it was actually only after the Second World War that temples carrying on the tradition of the *kansō* such as Tōdaiji and Enryakuji began to get involved themselves with funerals. They left even the funerals of their own people to priests of other *tonseisō*-affiliated schools (e.g. the Ritsu priests).

Thus, with regard to participation in funerals, let us now consider the background to this difference between *kansō* and *tonseisō*. Fundamentally, it is in their attitude towards impurity and towards the defilement of death in particular. The *kansō*,

being government priests, had to maintain their ritual purity and to avoid defilement. Therefore, in the event that they had taken part in a funeral where the impurity of death was inescapable, various kinds of restrictions were imposed, so that, for example, for a certain period of time, they had to refrain from attending services for the protection of the state, or from participation in Shintō rituals.

For example, on the twenty-sixth day of the fourth month of 885 (Ninna 1), a Ninnō-e 仁王会 (a kind of religious ceremony in which one hundred priests simultaneously recite the Ninnō sutra of the Benevolent Kings) for the safety of the country was held in the morning and the evening at the same time in various halls and government offices beginning with the Shishinden at the imperial palace in Kyōto, at the Jūnimon, the Rashōmon, the 'thirty-two temples in the east and west,' and in all the provinces of the realm (lit.: *gokishichidō*).[1] On that occasion, the priests were forbidden to come in contact with impurity.[2]

In another example, according to the *Shōyūki* at the Ninnō-e that was held in the Daigokuden on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month of 1020 (Kannin 4), people who had been in touch with defilement were prohibited from making votive offerings to the Buddha or from giving alms to the priests.[3]

The impurity of death is caused by touching a corpse, participation in a funeral, a reburial, or the digging of a grave, and someone who had been so defiled was to abstain from taking part in Shintō rituals and attendance at the imperial court for a period of thirty days (although, in cases when it was only part of a body, the period was seven days). As the people were overly fearful about the defilement of death, when poor and solitary priests, or unrelated servants died, they were brought outside the temples or residences, and in the worst case they were left unattended at the roadside or in a dry riverbed.

In this way, avoiding impurities, among which the defilement of death is a prime example, was an important matter of concern to the people of the ancient and medieval periods, and especially to officials and the *kansō*.

The kansō *and taboo of the death impurity*

Let us now examine how the *kansō* dealt with the defilement of death when engaging in funerals. In this context, I would like to use the testament of Jien recorded in 1221.[4]

Jien 慈円 (1155–1225) was the son of chancellor Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097–1164) – his brothers were the prime minister, the regent and the chancellor. He held the office of head of the Tendai school no less than four times, and he stood as head of the *kansō*. His prominence was in part due to the fact that he was of the principal noble lines of the Fujiwaras, thereby reinforcing the fact that the world of the *kansō* where parentage spoke for itself, had become secularized.

Jien's will, therefore, was left by him to his disciple Ryōkai 良快 (1185–1242) to whom he had given the highest esoteric initiation of the 'Dharma anointment'. In this testament, some eight clauses are written about the cremation after Jien's death, including the Buddhist mass. Among these, the clauses 'On the burial' and 'About those who come into contact with defilement' may be emphasized. In the former, it is stipulated that (1) immediately after his death he has to be cremated at a convenient place, and that his bones have to be taken by his disciple Jiken and buried close to the grave of Mudōji daishi (Jie, 912–985), and that (2) he should not be buried at the place of his cremation. In the latter clause, it is written that all, except for those who have participated in the cremation, should go to the Hie Jinja shrine on the day after Jien's death and pray to the Sanno deities for his afterlife. It further directs the people who have come in contact with impurity or carried his bones, that, though it is left to their own will, they can go to the shrine and pray for his rebirth, without any scruples, after a period of thirty days has passed.

From this, we can tell how the *kansō* of Enryakuji at the beginning of the thirteenth century conducted the funerals of their members. It becomes clear that Jien wished to be cremated and that his disciples were to gather his bones. Further, as referred to by the phrase 'the combination of buddhas and *kami* (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合)', it was thought in those days that the gods protected the buddhas, and, therefore, we can say with almost complete certainty that a Shintō shrine was attached to each Buddhist temple. This included Enryakuji where the Hie Jinja

shrine existed solely for the temple's tutelary Shintō deity. In this context, we find that the priests who had come in contact with the defilement of death by taking part in a funeral, abstained from visiting shrines, but it goes without saying that they were not allowed to participate in religious services for the protection of the state or attendance at the imperial palace either.

However, the *tonseisō* were freed from these restrictions; they occupied themselves with conducting funerals in defiance of the impurity of death and graveyards were constructed in the precincts of their temples. As a result, in the fourteenth century, the *tonseisō* came to conduct even the funerals of emperors or shoguns and the *kansō* themselves. On the other hand, the temples that followed the tradition of the *kansō* continued their custom of non-attendance at funerals.

For example, when the priests of Chinkōji (present-day Higashiyama district of Kyoto) located at the entrance of the burial ground of Toribeno had in Kyoto, tried to have their temple restored in 1609, they vowed not to hold burials and not to dig any graves.[5] That they were made to swear such an oath is probably because Zen and *nenbutsu* priests entered it during its period of disrepair when it had become involved in the holding of funerals. From the fact that they were made to swear not to conduct funerals when their temple was restored as a branch-temple of an official temple, we can also ascertain that those who were carrying on the tradition of the official temples did not engage in funerals, even in the early part of the seventeenth century.

'The precepts of purity remain untainted'

There is a story which shows clearly the relationship between the Ritsu priests as *tonseisō* and funerals. This is a story about the eleventh abbot of Saidaiji whose name was Kakujō 覚乗 (1275–1363).

Kakujō is a person who has not been given much attention by scholars up to now. He was also known as Jienbō and was said 'to be highly praised in the world for his deeds of virtue, and to be someone of superhuman powers'.[6] We also know that he died in 1363 at the age of ninty-one. He had only been in office as abbot of the temple for seventy-five days

An interesting surviving source[7] tells us about Kakujō's activities. It says that he was one of the disciples of Eizon, and that he came to reside in Enmyōji because of a divine message from the gods of the Ise Jingū shrine which Eizon received. Once, he had made the vow to go from Enmyōji and pay reverence to the Ise Jingū shrine for one hundred days, but on the last day of this period, he found a dead traveller when he passed the estate of the imperial princesses who served at the shrine. Kakujō was asked to address some last words to the deceased by the people who were related to him, and he conducted a funeral for the dead man. When, after that, he arrived on the bank of the Miyakawa river, an old man appeared and said: 'Didn't you just perform a funeral? How on earth can you try to worship at the shrine when you are polluted by the impurity of death?!' It says that Kakujō answered this by replying : 'The precepts of purity do not get polluted. Nevertheless, are you, mired in *Mappō*, telling me to go back to Enmyōji?' Before their dialogue ended, a young boy dressed in white appeared out of nowhere, and spoke in verse saying : 'From this moment on, those who come from Enmyōji are to be thought of as undefiled' and then he vanished like a shadow.

In the case of the *kansō*, such as Jien, those who had taken part in a funeral needed to abstain from going to the shrines for thirty days. The Ritsu priests, however, basing themselves on the argument that 'the precepts of purity do not get polluted', did visit the Ise Jingū which applied severe restrictions as far as impurity was concerned. Putting the idea that 'the precepts of purity remain untainted' into other words, we can say that the very assertion that their strict and daily observance of the precepts of the Ritsu priests becomes a barrier and protects them from numerous pollutions, thereby enabling them to overcome the defilement of death.

The discussion between the old man (possibly a manifestation of the goddess) and Kakujō plainly shows that the Ritsu priests considered their strict adherence to the *kairitsu* as the keystone of their social salvation activities such as funerals. To put it simply, we find that though Ritsu priests pursued a life of obedience to the rigid precepts, far from hindering them in their social salvation activities, they felt themselves freed by the precepts and

protected against impurity. They further claimed that the *kami* of the Ise Jingū sanctioned their assertion as well.

In fact, in the collections of tales of the *Hosshinshū* from the early thirteenth century, as well as the *Shasekishū*, there are typical stories, where priests on their way to worship at a shrine are asked by a young girl to conduct the funeral for her mother, and when they resume their pilgrimage after undertaking the funeral, a god appears and praises them. Therefore, Kakujō's story can be said to be a variation on this. The main point is not just that it eliminates Kakujō's impurity, but rather the fact that those referred to by the phrase 'coming from Enmyōji', that is, the group of priests of Eizon's order, are considered to be untainted as well. In the final analysis, it shows that all the priests of Eizon's order were freed from the taboo of defilement by the argument that 'the precepts of purity do not get polluted'. What is more, the very fact that such stereotypes exist among these tales, conversely indicates that in the era of the mixture of buddhas and *kami* there was a taboo on the veneration at shrines by priests who were undertaking funerals without observing the thirty-day period of abstinence.

The argument that 'the precepts of purity remain untainted' is precisely what made activities concerned with defilement possible, such as the practice of funerals by Eizon's order. In other words, the Ritsu priests set forth an epoch-making idea that overcame the taboo against the impurity of death under the yoke of which the *kansō* found themselves. That was the logic of the Ritsu priests who were, as an order, able to take on activities which were considered to include the risk of contamination by defilements as well as the impurity of death, religious fund-raising and the salvation of outcasts and women

In addition, the Ritsu priests of Eizon's order set up a lay association called the 'Pure Precepts Society' (*saikai-shū*), which specialized in the management of events involving defilement, such as religious fund-raising, the salvation of *hinin*, and funerals. Though the members of this society were laymen, they observed the 'purifying precepts' and thus standing on the border between the Ritsu priests and the laity, they occupied themselves with the activities which were difficult for the Ritsu priests to participate in (such as the handling of money). Also, the fact that they set up

such an association, indicates that the Ritsu priests actively faced precisely those activities which the *kansō* avoided as a whole.

'Those who are reborn in the Pure Land are unpolluted'

It can also be said of the other *tonseisō* that they conducted funerals in spite of the defilement of death. First of all, when viewing the relationship between the *nenbutsu* priests and funerals, the required behaviour for one's dying hour in Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* is notable. This is because it says that the *nenbutsu* practitioner who has braced himself for death is to be brought to the *Mujōin* (or *Mujōdō*), where he is to face death while being tended to by the *nenbutsu* priests. The text had a great influence on the various ways in which the priests and laymen of the *nenbutsu* community were thought to be reborn in Amitābha's Pure Land. The *Nijūgo sanmai*[8] 二十五三昧 also suggests that the *nenbutsu* priests came to confront the impurity of death. Therefore, it is possible that when a *nenbutsu* order such as Hōnen's was formed, they came to acquire believers and offerings through their engagement in funerals because they were free from the restrictions of the *kansō*.

Even more important is the belief that 'those who are reborn in the Pure Land are unpolluted'. In the Middle Ages, it was thought that people who received the auspicious omens of a bank of purple clouds, the smell of wonderful incense and music welcoming them at the time of their death, were reborn in Amitābha's Pure Land of Utmost Bliss (Skt: *Sukhdvatr*; J.: *gokuraku Jōdo*). Further, it was believed that the person who had received such a rebirth was free from the defilement of death.

In 1279, the *nenbutsu* priest Man'amidabutsu 万阿弥陀仏 (n.d.) bowed in veneration to Kawada Nyūdō 河田入道 (n.d.) of the Nhusan who had been reborn in the Pure Land, and even sat down at his house. Though it was usually thought that one would be tainted with the impurity of death by taking a seat in a house where a corpse is kept, it is said that while Man'amidabutsu was there he was told by a stranger that 'those who are reborn in the Pure Land do not carry any defilement'.[9]

However, because Kunihide 国秀 (n.d.), the servant of Iitaka, the local archivist of private estates (*mandokoro kurōdo taifu*

政所蔵人大夫), met Man'amidabutsu and then a few days later, paid a visit to the Ise Jingū as a result of a meeting between Kunihide and Man'amidabutsu, the goddess residing in the temporary shrine, before the transfer to the new shrine was stained with the defilement of death. From this, we can say, first of all, that the point that the deity who sanctioned the idea that 'the precepts of purity remain untainted' did not acknowledge the one that 'those who are reborn in the Pure Land are unpolluted'. Further, conversely, we can say that the local residents were aware of the latter idea, and that the *nenbutsu* priest Man'amidabutsu believed it as well.

This is why, apart from the disciples, many lay believers, without any blood relationship, assembled and mourned for the dead. The departed in these illustrated biographies were accompanied by such omens as the purple bank of clouds and the wonderful smell of incense at the time of their death. In other words, it was believed that they were to be reborn in the Pure Land.

This notion that 'those who are reborn in the Pure Land are unpolluted' is fundamental. For, before Hōnen, the people who were considered to be able to attain rebirth in the Pure Land were limited to the few who had accumulated good deeds, but ever since Hōnen, all the *nenbutsu* practitioners were in principle to be reborn in the Pure Land. Namely, he preached that 'chanting "*Namu Amidabutsu*" is the only right practice for birth in the Pure Land, and when one performs it, anybody can be born there'.[10] Hence, it follows that *nenbutsu* practitioners, apart from attaining rebirth in the Pure Land, were free from the defilement of death. For this reason, Hōnen's *nenbutsu* priests were able to conduct funerals while at the same time chanting Amitābha's name, in defiance of the so-called impurity of death.

Zen priests and funerals

The Zen priests who belonged to the *tonseisō* also conducted funerals in spite of the defilement of death. Besides the funerals of the common people, they performed the funerals of the shogun of the Muromachi shogunate and of the emperor as well. For example, at the funeral of Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–

58) who died in 1358 at the age of fifty-four, it is said that 'it was entirely under the directions of the Zen school' at Shinnyoji.[11] The same applies to the second Ashikaga shogun Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330–67) and the third, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408) who died in 1408.

In addition, as a straightforward example of the fact that the Zen priests were unhampered by the taboo of the impurity of death, we have the entry for the the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of 1454 (Kyōtoku 3) in the diary of Nakahara Yasutomi 中原康富 (1399–1457), *Yasutomuki*[12] 康富記. It tells of how the stepmother of Nakahara Yasutomi's wife had died, and the priests of the Chian hermitage carried out the funeral and the Buddhist services in the mourning period. At the end of this period, Yasutomi's wife paid a visit to the Chian. However, it happened that the master of the hermitage Eisanbō had gone on a seven-day retreat to worship at the Ise Jingū on behalf of his patron, and had not yet returned. Furthermore, it says that the Zen priest, since he did not shun the defilement of death, dared to go to the Ise Jingū even though thirty days had not yet passed following the funeral rites. Nakahara Yasutomi, who was under the yoke of the taboo of the impurity of death, was worried if the Zen priest's conduct would not incur divine punishment.

A case like this is interesting as it shows the contrasting attitude of the aristocrats who were scrupulous about the defilement of death, and that of the Zen priests who transcended it. It is not clear what kind of argument the Zen priests brought to bear in order to take a stand against the impurity of death, but it is certain that they, too, distanced themselves from it.

These examples make it clear that (1) the Zen, Ritsu and *nenbutsu* priests played a conspicuous role in medieval funerals, and that (2) this was because as *tonseisō* they were 'free' from the restrictions of the *kansō*, and were unhampered by the taboo of the defilement of death.

In addition, it is clear that the Nichiren school which was also a part of the group of *tonseisō*, engaged in the practice of funerals as well. This can be determined from the fact that many funerary grave-markers with the title of the *Lotus Sutra* written on them (*daimoku itabi*) were erected. These markers were a sort of stupa for the repose of the deceased's soul, and though they existed in

several forms, they were characterized by the fact that the seven characters of the 'Namu myō hō rengekyō' were inscribed down the middle, and were produced by the believers of the Nichiren school. The oldest known example dates back to 1290.

So it is clear that all *tonseisō* took part in funerals. To be exact, the orders that had overcome the impurity of death, linked to such activities as funeral rites, gained the support of the ordinary people. That the Zen, Ritsu and *nenbutsu* priests were reproached as 'a set of dirty fellows' by the shrines and the aristocracy, and were denied entrance at their shrine precincts and residences during Shintō ceremonies, was due to the fact that they were 'freed' from the taboo of the impurity of death.

Notes

1 The districts in which the country was organized according to the *ritsuryō* system were: the five provinces of the Kinai 畿内 area (Yamato, Yamashiro, Kawachi, Settsu and Izumi) and the seven regions of Tōkaidō, Tōsandō, Hokurikudō, San'indō, San'yodō, Nankaidō and Saikaidō.

2 See *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1952) 587.

3 See *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei – Shōyūki* Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969), 263. Though this diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046) originally reached from 977 to 1040, only the part from 982 until 1032 is still extant.

4 See *Kamakura Ibun* Vol. 5 doc. 2792 (Tokyo: Tokyodō shūppan, 1973) 32.

5 See Tokyo daigaku shiryō hensanjo, *Dainihon komonjo – Ie wake* no. 19, *Daigoji monjo* no. 3 doc. 537 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shūppankai, 1960) 63, 64.

6 See Kenji Matsuo, *Chūsei no Toshi to Hinin*, 122,123.

7 See Tokyo teikoku daigaku (comp.), *Sanbōinkyūki* 三宝院旧記 in *Dainihon shiryō* 6–24 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shiryō hensanjo, 1929) 867, 868.

8 The 'Twenty-five Samadhi' was a group formed by twenty-five priests of Shūryōgon'in at Yokawa on Mt Hiei in 986, inspired by Genshin's Ōjōyōshū. They prayed to achieve rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land, maintained graveyards and set up a religious association without distinguishing between clergy and laity.

9 See Itaru Chijiwa, '*Shigusa to sahō*' in *Nihon no Shakaishi* vol. 8 (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1987).

10 See Masayuki Taira, *Nihon Chūsei no Shakai to Bukkyō*, 173.

11 See the entry for Enbun 3 (1358)/5/2 of the *Gukanki* 愚管記 in Zoku shiryō taisei kankōkai, *Zoku shiryō taisei* vol. 1 (Kyōto: Rinsen shoten, 1967) 179, 180.

12 See Zōho shiryō taisei kankōkai, *Zōho shiryō taisei – Yasutomi ki* Vol. 4 (Kyōto: Rinsen shoten, 1965) 104.

CHAPTER 11

THE NEW THINKING OF KAMAKURA NEW BUDDHISM – SHINRAN AND EIZON



The salvation of the individual

IN PREVIOUS CHAPTERS, I have highlighted the differences between the activities of the *kansō* (official monks) and the *tonseisō* (reclusive monks), with particular attention to religious fund-raising, the salvation of outcasts and women, and funerals (salvation of the dead). The work of the *tonseisō* did not end with this, but these were the characteristic activities that indicate the differences between the two groups. In short, we find from these differences that in contrast to the *tonseisō* who directly held out the prospect of salvation to the troubled 'individual', the *kansō* took religious services for the protection of the country as their main duty.

As the background to this difference, we have seen how the *tonseisō* had renounced the status of the *kansō*. Stated simply, for the very reason that they were priests who had 'retreated from the world' (*tonsei*), they were able to be 'freed' from the taboo of defilement, which was always a problem and a limitation when the *kansō* conducted their activities regarding salvation. Because of this, the *tonseisō* were able to devote themselves to the salvation of 'individuals' who gave offerings for their faith.

In the activities of religious fund-raising, the *kanjin* holy men solicited and collected contributions from each person separately and preached about salvation. In the salvation of outcasts, they reached out to those who had been driven away (or had left by

themselves) from their families and manors (villages) due to their affliction with leprosy, and were compelled to live separately as 'individuals'. As for the salvation of women, since they had made it their cause to save the troubled 'individual', the difference as to whether one was male or female became irrelevant. Even with funerals, they conducted masses for each person individually thereby overcoming the taboo of the defilement of death.

In this context, there is the counter-argument that the Ritsu priests, for example, took part in services for the protection of the country. While this cannot be denied, however, their main task was the salvation of outcasts and other 'individuals'. If they had made the services for the protection of the country their duty, they would not have needed to 'retreat from the world'. They went to the trouble of taking on the status of *tonsei* because they wanted to become 'free' from the restrictions of the *kansō* and from the taboo of defilement, and to carry out the salvation of the 'individual' which could not be done with the status of *kansō*. To use the metaphor of a television, no one calls a colour television black-and-white, simply because you can also see monochrome broadcasting with it. In a similar way, it is not possible to deny the newness of the *tonseisō*'s actions, simply because they also conducted services for the protection of the country.

Buddhist thought of the kansō

Up to this point, we have been examining those things which the activities of the *tonseisō* have in common. Let us now consider the intellectual innovations of each founder (and order). That is, even though they eventually aimed at the salvation of the 'individual', the statements of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism are many and varied, and each has unique points. In addition to this, the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period was not born out of nothing, but used the thinking of *kansō* Buddhism as its basis. This is so even if the *tonseisō* did not merely take over the ideas of the *kansō*, but contradicted them as well. First, we should examine the relationship of *tonseisō* thought with the ideology of *kansō* Buddhism.

The patriarchs of the New Buddhism were priests who had at one time become *kansō* and then retreated from the world,

having learned many things from their original teachers. The New Buddhism of the Kamakura period was born out of the two leading *kansō* lines in the Heian period of the Nara group (centred around Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji) and the Hiei group (with Enryakuji as its nucleus). Hōnen, Shinran, Nichiren, Dōgen, Eisai and Echin belonged to the Hiei group, and priests such as Myōe and Eizon came from the Nara group. Each of them learned the central doctrines (of the Six Nara schools, Tendai or Shingon) in the world of the *kansō*. Basing their thought on some points and contradicting them in others, they developed their own system of thought. Now, we can make a preliminary outline of the thinking of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism.

Buddhism has the 'Three Learnings' (Skt.: *trīṇi śikṣāṇi*; J.: *sangaku* 三学) of 'the precepts' (Skt.: *śīla*, J.: *kai* 戒), 'meditation' (Skt.: *samādhi*; J.: *jō* 定) and 'wisdom' (Skt.: *prājñā*; J.: *e* 慧) as its structural elements, and it can be said that the actions of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism began as a reform movement of these three ways of learning. The leading doctrines of the Heian period were those of the Hossō school, the Tendai school and the Shingon school, which can be recognized by the polemics between *kansō* such as Tokuitsu 徳一 (749–824; Hossō) and Kūkai 空海 (Shingon), and between Tokuitsu and Saichō 最澄.

The Hossō school criticized the standpoint that everyone can attain enlightenment and that 'all possess the buddha-nature' (the *shitsuu busshō* 悉有仏性 theory), and explained that the capacity of sentient beings differs according to the following five types (the *goshō kakubetsu* 五性各別 theory): those who have been determined to become *śrāvaka*, who are enlightened by hearing the voice of the buddha (J.: *shōmon jōshō*), those who have been determined to become pratyekabuddha, who are enlightened without following the teachings of the buddha (J.: *engaku jōshō*), those who have been determined to become bodhisattva, who preach that anyone can be enlightened, and do not just aim at their own buddhahood but at the salvation of others as well (J.: *bosatsu jōshō*), those who have been determined not to be either of these (J.: *fujōshō*), and those who are unable to become either of these (J.: *mushushō*). In addition, in the teachings of the buddha there are the 'Three Vehicles' (J.: *sanjō*) of the śrāvaka-

vehicle (J.: *shōmonjō*), the pratyeka-buddha-vehicle (J.: *engakujō*), and the bodhisattva-vehicle (J.: *bosatsujō*). As for the Hossō ordinations, they were incorporated in a *jukai* system in which one became a bhiksu by vowing to observe the 250 precepts as expounded in the *Shibunritsu*.

The Tendai School on the other hand, insisted upon the theory of buddha nature in all things, and explained that the 'Three Vehicles' were teachings which the Buddha had provisionally preached, adapting them to the capabilities of sentient beings, but that there is only one true principle in the end, namely the 'One Vehicle' (J.: *ichijō*). They denounced as '*Hinayana*' the schools such as Hossō, which held that only those who have renounced the world and performed ascetic practices reach enlightenment. They built a precepts-platform at Enryakuji, and there made their Tendai priests bhiksu by conferring the 'Ten major and the forty-eight minor precepts' of the *Bonmōkyō* on them.

Then, the Shingon school divided Buddhism at large into the two teachings of the exoteric teaching (*kenkyō* 顕教, aiming at enlightenment by means of words and logic) and the esoteric teaching (*mikkyō* 密教, which preaches enlightenment not through words and logic, but by mystic experiences), and only acknowledged the latter as ultimately true. The Shingon school treats the phenomenal world as a manifestation of the buddha, affirms this world, and preaches 'the attainment of buddhahood within this lifetime' (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏) instead of by a long period of ascetic practices. It also explains its position that we, who originally are buddhas, must come to realize this through ascetic practice. As Kūkai had instructed his priests to receive the precepts at the Nara-affiliated precepts-platforms, his Shingon school took root in the temples of the southern capital. Further, the Tendai school also introduced esoteric thought and ceremonies due to the efforts of priests like Ennin 円仁 (794–864), Enchin 円珍 (814–891), and Annen 安然 (841–889/898).

So we have the controversy about the theories of buddha nature versus the five types, Three Vehicles versus One Vehicle, and 'ascetic practice over a long time' versus 'attainment of buddhahood within this lifetime' evolving within the Buddhism of the *kansō*. Moreover, the Tendai lineage delved deeply into the

concept of buddha nature in all things, developing the so-called 'original enlightenment thought' (J.: *hongaku shisō* 本覚思想) – holding variously that only recognizing one's nature was enough to become a buddha, or that evil passions were none other than enlightenment (J.: *bonnō soku bodai* 煩悩即菩提). Because we can say that the theory of the five types is one of the main identifying features of the Hossō doctrine, we can assume that its priests made their argument from this position, though this is not clear due to the small amount of research done on the Hossō school in the Heian period.

Later on, the groups of scholar priests from the Hossō, Tendai and Shingon schools of the *kansō* Buddhism came to tolerate each other, and all recognized each other as Mahayana. Priests of the Shingon school, who originally received their precepts at the Nara-affiliated precepts-platforms, received them at the Hiei precepts-platforms and the opposite also occurred time and time again.

The above is merely a brief outline of the essentials of the Hossō, Tendai and Shingon schools, but it should be noted that among the 'Three Learnings' of the precepts, meditation and wisdom, the second one has hardly been taken into account. The *tonseisō* established their own theories, presupposing (or also denying) these three ways of learning.

The thinking of the founders of the New Buddhism

The priests like Hōnen, Nichiren, Dōgen, Eisai and Echin of the Hiei group, attached great importance to the 'Ten major and the forty-eight minor precepts' of the *Bonmōkyō*, and many of them performed a *jukai* characteristic of their order based on that. Echin lamented the extremes of apostasy such as the *kansō* from Enryakuji who practised martial arts and renounced their world under Kōen. He started the 'revival' of the precepts, leading to his establishment of a new order of Kamakura New Buddhism in cooperation with Kōen. On the other side, while belonging to the Hiei group, Shinran chose to concentrate on matters such as marriage and denied the observance of the precepts.

Priests who came from the Nara group like Myōe and Eizon set up a *jukai* system of their own order, which conferred the 250

precepts as expounded in the *Shibunritsu*. However, besides the *Shibunritsu* they also stressed the precepts of the *Bonmōkyō*, and made their lay believers swear to the observance of the latter. For, as against the *Shibunritsu*, which in essence were the precepts which the priesthood had to observe, the precepts of the *Bonmōkyō* were for bodhisattvas who did not distinguish between clergy and laity.

Though the aspect of meditation was not given particular attention in the world of the *kansō* from the Heian period, meditation practices from China were introduced by Dōgen and Eisai of the Hiei group, and orders which attached great importance to it were established by the names of Rinzai and Sōtō.

As for the learning of wisdom, the founders of the Hiei group made various efforts to translate into reality the theory that all things have a buddha nature, which had been expounded by Saichō. Because even though one ideally held the position that 'all possess the buddha-nature', in spreading this to the people, the restrictions of the *kansō* were many. To the new founders who had retired from the world and tried to work for the salvation of the troubled 'individual', it became necessary to systematize their doctrines and practices based on the position of the theory of a buddha nature in all things.

Since the representative temple of the Southern Capital for the *tonseisō* of the Nara group was Kōfukuji, the base of the Hossō school, we can imagine that insisting on the theory of buddha nature faced opposition there. For example, although Eizon entered Saidaiji, the branch-temple of Kōfukuji, he was a *tonseisō* who had originally studied the teachings of the Shingon school at temples like Daigoji. In the *Kōshō bosatsu kyōkai chōmon shū* (completed after 1285) in which his disciple Kyōe (n.d.) has recorded his statements, it says that he thought that all sentient beings 'possess the buddha nature', and even more importantly, that they all possess the same buddha nature.[1]

Single and multiple practices – jiriki *and* tariki

Further, when we consider the 'Three Learnings' of the precepts, meditation and wisdom as a whole, there were founders like Hōnen, Shinran, Nichiren and Dōgen who sought enlighten-

ment or rebirth in the Pure Land through only one method. They insisted on 'selective' (J.: *senchaku* 選択) or 'sole' (J.: *senju* 専修) practice. On the other hand, there were also those who recommended multiple practices, such as Ippen, Eisai, Myōe and Eizon. Especially the founders of the Nara group expounded the 'unity of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism' (J.: *kenmitsu itchi* 顕密一致), and emphasized the combined practices of the precepts with esoteric Buddhism, and of the teachings of the Kegon school with those of esoteric Buddhism.

Recent research has led to the theory that the distinctive features of the thought of Kamakura New Buddhism can be seen in an orientation to a single method of salvation. It holds, for example, that Hōnen and Shinran took the chanting of '*Namu Amidabutsu*' as the only absolute practice and praises them for letting the people gain equality in the salvation of this world, as opposed to the menace of the clerical landholders who say that 'One goes to hell if one does not pay the land tax.' They therefore devised a system of thought which the general populace could adopt in opposition. As a result, priests like Hōnen, Shinran and Nichiren were treated as heretics.[2] Yet, Hōnen, for instance, observed the precepts which he himself saw as a part of the miscellaneous practices. Even in Shinran's order, though it is not clear about Shinran himself due to the lack of primary sources, the shift to a singular practice was not realized in the generation of his disciples. In the end, the turn to exclusive salvation methods could not be achieved despite efforts to implement it, and we have to say that it remained just an ideal. On the other hand, because those who employed numerous methods of salvation tried to cope with the worries of the various people who searched for liberation, like a skilled physician prepares various types of medicine according to the physical condition and symptoms of his patients, we could say theirs was the most natural way. We may even say that this is why the singularly oriented salvation methods failed, and therefore we have to recognize that the thinking and approach of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism was truly revolutionary – as represented by the new ideas expounded by such men as Hōnen, Shinran, Myōe and Eizon. In short, the key lies in the salvation of the 'individual', which is what we can now consider.

In the past, 'self power' (*jiriki* 自力) and 'other power' (*tariki* 他力) were used as words for expressing the special characters of the thought of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism. However, now that the analysis of medieval thought has advanced, we can hardly call that a valid index. When we examine the Buddhism of the *tonseisō* by that sub-division, we see the following. In Buddhism the 'aspiration for enlightenment' (*bodaishin* 菩提心) was originally seen as a necessity by Dōgen, Eisai, Myōe and Eizon who supported the notion of 'self power'. There were also those who believed that enlightenment was only possible with the help of a compassionate deity ('other power'). This group included Hōnen, Shinran and Ippen, who regarded Amitābha Buddha as absolute, denied the practices other than the *nenbutsu* and insisted on the reliance on Amitābha's vow of salvation. We can also include in this group Nichiren, who saw Śākyamuni as absolute and depended on the recitation of '*Namu myō hō renge kyō*'.

So this is only a broad overview of the distinctive features in the thought of the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism, while touching on its connection with the doctrines of the Buddhism of the *kansō*. Let us now look more closely into the ideas of the Kamakura New Buddhism, especially the thinking of Shinran and Eizon. Since, as one is a *tonseisō* of the Hiei group and the other a *tonseisō* of the Nara group, they are key people for understanding the two main streams of this new Buddhism.

Comparison of Shinran and Eizon

In comparing Shinran and Eizon, the first thing to say is that Shinran considered faith in Amitābha as his core belief, while Eizon had Śākyamuni as his core belief.

Concerning Shinran's faith in Amitābha, the following three characteristics are important: (1) Even though Hōnen did not make a distinction in importance between the three Pure Land sutras of *Muryōjukyō*, *Amidak*yō and *Kanmuryōjukyō*, Shinran laid the most stress on the first of these. (2) Among the forty-eight vows of Amitābha, he attached most importance to the eighteenth, which states that 'Even if I [Amitābha] cannot attain buddhahood, the people living in the ten directions believing in

me and praying to me from the heart, wishing to be born in my land (Sukhāvatī), reaching to those who have chanted the *nenbutsu* just ten times, if they cannot be reborn, I will make my vow among them, reach the right enlightenment and will not become a buddha …' Finally, (3) he regarded believing in Amitābha's vows (*tariki*) and reciting the *nenbutsu* as the 'great practice' (J.: *daigyō*), the practice which cultivates all good dharmas and offers a basis for good deeds. In the first two points, a stance of 'selectivity' (*senchaku*) is evident, and in the third, the *tariki* is most salient.

On the other hand, Eizon's thought and actions ranged widely over esoteric Buddhism, stressing the precepts and the propagation of faith in Śākyamuni, Mañjuśri and Prince Shōtoku. However, the relationship between all these has not become clear at all.

Still, his faith in Śākyamuni is the key for understanding his esoteric Ritsu and other aspects. Thus, it is necessary to examine it more carefully. Eizon's faith in Śākyamuni appears clearly from the fact that he describes himself time and again as 'the bhiksu Eizon, saving the Law of Śākyamuni'.[3] Furthermore, a statue of Śākyamuni in the style of the Seiryōji image was most often treated as the main object of worship in the temples built by Eizon's order, and images of the ten great disciples and the *arhan*s were also installed. Moreover, the greater part of the precepts-platforms of Eizon's order were set up at stupas where relics of Śākyamuni were enshrined.

Eizon's faith in Mañjuśri has been discussed in connection with his salvation of *hinin*, but here we shall look at the relationship between his belief in Manjusri and Sākyamuni. Even while admiring the 500 great vows of Śākyamuni, Eizon and his adherents (revealed by their saying 'the practice is learned from Mañjuśri'[4]) regard Mañjuśri, who emerges in the Buddha-less world between Śākyamuni's demise and Maitreya's appearance, as a model for the practice of a bodhisattva.

So, one group of *tonseisō* had faith in Amitābha while the other took the faith in Śākyamuni as its core. This is important for understanding Kamakura New Buddhism, not only for Shinran and Eizon, but all the founders of the new Buddhism had either one of these faiths as their nucleus. Hōnen, Shinran and Ippen

centred on Amitābha and Myōe, Eizon, Nichiren, Eisai and Dōgen primarily worshipped Śākyamuni. Consequently, statues of Amitābha were installed at temples of the Jōdo, Jōdo shin and Ji sects, and the temples of the Ritsu and Zen sects mostly made images of Śākyamuni, his ten great disciples and the *arhan*s.

Buddhahood or Birth into the Pure Land

The next point of divergence to be noted is whether one strived for rebirth in the Pure Land or pursued the attainment of buddhahood. This is also connected to the question of whether one's faith is centred around Amitābha or Śākyamuni, for in contrast to the founders who held to faith in Amitābha and aimed at rebirth in the Pure Land first, those with faith in Śākyamuni aspired after enlightenment.

Though rebirth and enlightenment have been thought to be the same, and the difference between the two has not been given very much attention, there actually is an important distinction. Because, originally, rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land referred to the stage before the attainment of buddhahood, one was to go to Amitābha's Pure Land and achieve enlightenment by practising there.

As far as the relationship between rebirth in the Pure Land and enlightenment is concerned, Shinran advanced the theory that rebirth is actually enlightenment (J.: *ōjō soku jōbutsu* 往生即成仏) in his *Kyōgyōshinshō*. Now, that may seem obvious, but in those days it was a revolutionary idea. In contrast, the founders who held to a belief in Śākyamuni, aspired for 'the attainment of buddhahood within this lifetime' (*sokushin jōbutsu*) or enlightenment upon one's death. The priests of the Shingon school, aimed at *sokushin jōbutsu* after having received the Dharma anointment. However, Eizon thought that most of the practitioners of Shingon had fallen into 'evil ways' (J.: *akudō*; probably judging from facts such as there were no auspicious omens at their demise, or that the times of their death were wrong) in spite of their participation in various kinds of esoteric initiations. Believing their apostasy to be the reason for it, he put his efforts into the 'revival' of the precepts.

Here, I would like to explain Eizon's concept of enlightenment. In the almost excessive prominence he gave to the salvation of

others (J.: *rita* 利他), he swore not to attain buddhahood before all other beings. This is called the 'vow of the *icchantika* of great compassion'. *Icchantika* points to those who are unable to reach enlightenment, and since it is held to be virtually impossible that all people attain buddhahood, those who have taken such an oath become unable to attain it themselves, which is why they are called *daihisendai*, that is, *icchantika* who cannot reach enlightenment because of their great compassion – this is because they were people who would encourage others to attain enlightenment first and only seek enlightenment for themselves afterwards. Yet, on the other hand, drawing on Jōkei's theories, Eizon held that those who have made the vow of the *daihisendai* can attain enlightenment through their wisdom. He introduced the view that those who have awakened their aspiration for enlightenment in the first place do not fall into the 'evil realms' (J.: *akushu*; the realms of suffering, such as hell, into which one can fall upon one's death).[5] Even while treating the *daihisendai* as his ideal, Eizon determined that these *icchantika* of great compassion can also attain buddhahood.

Observance and violation of the precepts

From the standpoint of the precepts, Shinran and Eizon held diametrically opposed positions. On one side Shinran denied all practices other than the *nenbutsu* as irrelevant. He regarded eating meat and matrimony as right and proper, and got married himself. In contrast, Eizon emphasized the observance of the precepts, and besides following them himself, he also imposed them on his believers. The doctrinal background of this difference can be seen in Shinran's main work, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* 教行信証 (said to have been completed in 1224); and in the *Kōshō bosatsu kyōkai chōmon shū*, which was compiled by Eizon's disciple Kyōe (n.d.).

According to the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, Shinran believed that the present world was in *mappō*, and thought of it as the 'evil world marked by the five pollutions',[6] or the so-called 'view of the defiled land' (*edo kan* 穢土観). Based on these views of the degenerate law and the defiled land, he regarded violation of the precepts as a matter of course. The section on apostasy only drew

upon the statements of the *Mappō tōmyōki*, which has been falsely ascribed to Saichō, and Shinran's ideas were probably similar to those set out in the earlier text. He claimed that since in *mappō* practice (*gyō* 行) and enlightenment (*shō* 証) are lost, the law of the precepts itself is lost, and neither sentient beings and defilement of life, observance nor violation of the precepts exists. And, '"Even though the apostate bhikṣu dies, just like the musk of a deer being still useful after the animal's death, he is a good teacher (*zenchishiki* 善知識) to sentient beings." Clearly understanding this, I finally permitted the breaking of the precepts and took it as a source of merit for the world.'[7] In other words, he holds that, just as the musk of the musk deer is used upon its death, the bhikṣu who violates the precepts will be a good teacher to sentient beings.

Shinran preached that the *nenbutsu* is the sole and supreme practice for rebirth in the Pure Land selected by Amitābha Buddha, and that if one chants the *nenbutsu* once believing in Amitābha, one will without doubt be reborn in his Pure Land. Thus, we find that Shinran based his thought on the concept of *mappō*, regarded apostasy as natural and denied the observance of the precepts as an irrelevant practice.

In contrast to Shinran, Eizon was a priest who took the precepts and esoteric (Shingon) Buddhism as the two pillars of his religion and spoke of them as 'resembling the sun and the moon',[8] praising the precepts as the sun and esoteric Buddhism as the moon. 'Resembling the sun and the moon' is a conventional phrase and expresses the notion that the two are inseparably related like light and shade. However, normally the sun rather than the moon is taken as the more prominent of the two and, judging from the fact that Eizon did not present esoteric Buddhism as the sun, we can assume that he thought of the precepts as principal. In this way, Eizon laid enormous stress on the precepts.

Eizon considered the observance of the precepts to be the superior cause for the attainment of buddhahood. Of course, among the precepts there are both the five precepts for the lay believers and the purifying precepts, and there are the ten precepts for the srāmaṇera, the novices, as well as the 250 precepts for the bhiksu. Eizon did not believe following the 250

precepts to be the superior pathway for enlightenment as opposed to the adherence to the five precepts. He considered both were necessary. He recommended observance of the precepts according to one's abilities, and lived up to these rigorous precepts himself.

Thus, one might wonder what the difference is between Shinran and Eizon's concept of the precepts? As we have seen, the background for Shinran's thought of denial of the precepts was his view regarding the *mappō*. There are no clear sources which reveal what Eizon thought about this. Nevertheless, in the section '*Gakumon shite yaku hiroki koto*' of his *Kōshō bosatsu kyōkai chōmon shū*, he states that 'It is said that, "in the *mappō*, the pure priest is [feared] like a tiger in a town", and this being such a remote land [Japan], and being *mappō*, indeed, it is in a wretched situation.'[9] Thus, he also thought of the present time as the *mappō*. This phrase is a quotation from the *Mappō tōmyō ki* which Shinran also quoted in his *Kyōgyōshinshō*, but even though Eizon knew of it, he devoted himself to in the 'revival' of the precepts. In contrast, Shinran used the same quotation as the basis for his denial of the precepts.

In speaking of Shinran, he is known for his famous 'theory that the evil person is the chief object of Amitābha's compassion' (J.: *akunin shōki setsu* 悪人正機説) embodied in his famous phrase 'even good men achieve rebirth in the Pure Land, how much more evil men!' from *Tannishō*.[10] However, recent, cogent studies of the *Tannishō* suggest that this was not Shinran's original theory but his teacher Hōnen's, or that it belongs to Hōnen's disciples, who emphasized that 'evil-doing is without limits'. Setting aside the question whether that is right or wrong, it is a demonstration of a strong awareness of sin and of a self-consciousness of being an ordinary man. It is certain that Shinran himself had such an awareness.

However, this consciousness of sin was not peculiar to Shinran and his followers. For also among those who gave prominence to the precepts like Eizon, the awareness of their sinfulness and a consciousness of themselves as ordinary men was prominent. Eizon and his adherents advocated the adherence to the precepts and tried to follow them, but they were strongly aware that even though they tried, they could not observe them themselves.

Salvation of the individual

The *tonseisō* set out concepts which overcame defilement and engaged themselves in religious fund-raising, funerals and the salvation of outcasts and women. From this, it can be said that they put their efforts into the salvation of the 'individual'. Finally, let us briefly examine the remarks which highlight this new trend in the thinking of the founders.

In the *Tannishō,* we find the phrase: 'what the saint [Shinran] always said, was that when we consider very carefully Amitābha's vow, on which he "pondered for five kalpas",[11] it seems to be solely for Shinran's person, and when this is so, how wonderful Amitābha's vow is, wanting to save [Shinran] even though he had such karma.'[12]

In other words, we find that Shinran said to his disciple Yuien 唯円 (1222–89) that Amitābha's vow seems to be only for Shinran himself. This is nothing to do with Shinran supposedly revealing his self-conceit. When we judge the statement from the wording that Amitābha Buddha tries to save even someone with a good karma like himself (Shinran), it is possible that these sentences give expression to Shinran's consciousness of himself as the troubled 'individual' the exemplar object of Amitābha's salvation; this reveals his reflection of the 'individual', and that his order formed a religion which aimed at the salvation of the 'individual'.

Though Eizon and the other founders were involved in the salvation of 'individuals' in their actions, they did not leave behind any distinctive comments which referred to this specifically. However, we can say that Shinran was clearly aware of it. By nature he fully grasped what he was doing or what he was trying to do.

Thus, although Shinran and Eizon differ on many points of doctrine and practice, they were both primarily concerned with saving the 'individual', a practice characteristic of Kamakura New Buddhism.

Notes

[1] See Shigeo Kamata and Hisao Tanaka (eds.), *Nihon shisō taikei* Vol. 15 *Kamakura Kyū Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971) 212.
[2] See Masayuki Taira, *Nihon Chūsei no Shakai to Bukkyō*.
[3] J.: *Shaka ihō biku Eizon* 釈迦違法比丘叡尊; for example in the epilogue to the *Ōrishūkaizu* 応理宗戒図. See Nara kokuritsu bunkazai Kenkyū jo, *Saidaiji Eizon denki shūsei* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1977), 147.
[4] In: 'Eizonra ganmon 叡尊等願文' dated the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month of 1247 (Hōji 1). Op. cit., 342.
[5] In *the Kōshō bosatsu kyōkai chōmonshū*. See Shigeo Kamata and Hisao Tanaka (eds.), *Nihon shisō taikei* vol. 15 *Kamakura Kyū Bukkyō*, 198.
[6] J.: *gojoku akuse* 五濁悪世. The 'five pollutions' (Skt.: panca kasayah), i.e. defilement of the period by wars, famines, etc.; defilement of views; defilement by evil passions; defilement of the sentient beings and defilement of life.
[7] See: Genbō Hoshino, et al. (eds), *Nihon shisō taikei* Vol. 11 *Shinran* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971) 224.
[8] See *Kōshō bosatsu gyōjitsu nenpu* 興正菩薩行実年譜 in Nara kokuritsu bunkazai Kenkyūjo (ed.), *Saidaiji Eizon denki shūsei*, 125.
[9] See Shigeo Kamata and Hisao Tanaka (eds), *Nihon shisō taikei* Vol. 15 *Kamakura Kyū Bukkyō*, 200.
[10] See *Shinshū shōgyō zensho* Vol. 2 *Shūsobu*, 775. Recent theories hold that the *Tannishō* was written some twenty years after Shinran's death.
[11] J: *gokō shiyui* 五劫思惟. It is said that Amitābha, at the time that he was still a bodhisattva, reflected on his forty-eight vows for five kalpas before taking them.
[12] See *Shinshū shōgyō zensho* Vol. 2 *Shūsobu*, 792.

CHAPTER 12

THE RISE OF MEDIEVAL TOWNS AND THE AWARENESS OF THE 'INDIVIDUAL'



Urbanized places

SO FAR, WE have seen that the *tonseisō* (reclusive monks), who had been 'liberated' from the stricture of avoiding defilement, developed activities such as religious fund-raising, the conducting of funerals and the salvation of women and *hinin* that the *kansō* (official monks) could not undertake. Furthermore, consideration has been given to the belief system of each founder of these orders, as far as their 'Buddhism' is concerned – in other words Kamakura New Buddhism – which was aimed at the salvation of the 'individual'.

Thus, the orders of the *tonseisō* gave birth to the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period, but the *kansō* group was established as early as the eighth century, and, therefore, there must have been a large number of people like the *tonseisō* who had seceded from the *kansō* in the ancient period as well. We can, for example, look at Gyōki 行基 (668–749). He certainly set up an organization resembling an order at one time, but in the end it was absorbed by the *kansō*. In addition, Kūya 空也 (903–972) also exerted himself in the salvation of the citizens of Kyoto, but eventually he was unable to establish an order. The ancient period was, as one might put it, an era of *kansō*. Those who were not *kansō* (the wandering saints, and self-ordained priests) were considered irregular though they appeared in such numbers that they could not be completely ignored.

As for the reason why the *tonseisō* were able to form orders only from the end of the twelfth century, one can point to the fact that from about this time, the townspeople became so numerous that they could not be disregarded any longer.

Activities such as religious fund-raising and the salvation of *hinin* which characterize the Buddhism of the *tonseisō*, are issues that are peculiar to urbanized areas. For example, religious fund-raising took place at bridges, barrier stations or ferry crossings, and it is plausible that the salvation of *hinin* became an issue because they congregated in the towns and in due course developed into a social problem. Moreover, most of the founders spread their teachings in the capital of Heian (Kyoto) or in Kamakura, establishing their orders there first.

In this way, we can say that *tonseisō* Buddhism and the urbanized areas were intimately linked, and that towns were the very places which gave birth to people who were aware of the concept of the 'individual'. The Middle Ages was an era in which the urbanized areas expanded greatly as is shown by the growth of the capital Kyōto as a city of commerce, and the establishment of the city of Kamakura in the Kantō region, and they in turn gave rise to the emergence of many troubled 'individuals'. Consequently, let us now discuss the relationship between these urbanized areas and the *tonseisō*.

Hōnen, Dōgen and the townspeople of Kyōto

Hōnen is said to have been spiritually awakened and enlightened through Zendō's *Kanmuryōjyukyō-sho* in the spring of 1175 (Jōan 5) at the age of forty-three, upon which he embraced the Pure Land teachings. The essence of his thought is, in short: 'to perform the *nenbutsu* or chanting *Namu Amidabutsu* which is the sole practice for rebirth in the Pure Land selected by Amitābha, the absolute being'.[1]

After his conversion he came down from the Kurodani *bessho* of Mt Hiei, and set up his base at Kiyomizu in Higashiyama, from which moment he basically did not leave Kyoto until the Jōgen Persecution. In other words, his believers were the townspeople of Kyoto. As noted earlier, Jien 慈円 (1155–1225) wrote about this in his *Gukanshō*: 'further, in the years of Ken'ei, there was a

holy man called Hōnenbō. Making the capital into his home, he founded a *nenbutsu* sect, by the name of *senju nenbutsu* ... It was celebrated by fatuous and ignorant nuns, and prospering in the world it rose strongly.'[2] Though Jien even became head abbot of Enryakuji and stood at the top of the group of *kansō*, as the younger brother of Hōnen's adherent Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207) it is possible that he was able to obtain information about Hōnen from his brother. Thus, Hōnen devoted his existence to the salvation of the townspeople of Kyoto. He had disciples such as Shinran to begin with, and subsequently attracted adherents even among aristocrats like Kujō Kanezane.

Dōgen is also a founder who originally began by working for the salvation of the citizens of Kyoto. He returned from China in the autumn of 1227 (Antei 1) and lived for a while in Kenninji (建仁寺). However, insisting on the pure Zen which he had learned from Ru Jing (1163–1228), he left Kenninji in 1230 (Kangi 2) and moved to An'yoin, a branch-temple of Gokurakuji in Fukakusa, on the outskirts of Kyoto. Three years later, he built Kōshōji in Fukakusa, and worked hard at the salvation of the townspeople of Kyoto. But in 1243 (Kangen 1) he ended his missionary work at Kōshōji, and brought his entire group along with him to Echizen (present-day Fukui prefecture), where he built the Daibutsuji in 1245 (Kangen 3) and renamed it Eiheiji the following next year. Thereafter, until his death in the eighth month of 1253 (Kenchō 5), Eiheiji was the base of his activities. So, although he moved to Echizen later on, the first half of his period as a Zen priest focused on the townspeople of Kyoto.

Moreover, as he went down from the capital to Kamakura and engaged in the salvation of warriors, from the eighth month of 1247 (Hōji 1) until the third month of 1248, his activities were not limited to Kyōto but involved the townspeople of Kamakura as well.

Eizon and the townspeople

Eizon entered Saidaiji in the first month of 1235 (Katei 1). In the ninth month of the next year, he performed his 'self ordination' (*jisei-jukai* 自誓受戒) together with Kakujō 覚盛 (1194–1249) and his companions at Tōdaiji, and began his life as a *tonseisō*.

However, the province of Yamato was in chaos over the problem involving the installation of its steward (*jitō* 地頭). Because of this, his work as a *tonseisō* came to a standstill for some time, and he found shelter in temples like Kairyūōji . After his return to Saidaiji in the eighth month of 1238 (Ryakunin 1) he recommenced his *tonseisō* ministry.

According to his autobiography, *Kongō busshi Eizon kanjin gakushōki* 金剛仏子叡尊感身学正記, when Eizon had successfully 'revived' Saidaiji, he travelled through the various parts of the Kinai region to promote the bodhisattva precepts, though he chose Nara as his base. His activities at urbanized places were especially conspicuous, such as his salvation of the *hinin* who gathered on the outskirts of towns (lodgings), or his ceremonies for Mañjuśri at markets. In 1262 (Kōchō 2), he was invited by Hōjō Tokiyori through the recommendation of Ninshō, and he left for Kamakura on the fourth day of the second month to return to Saidaiji on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. In this period, he worked for the salvation of the ordinary people of Kamakura from the warriors down to the *hinin*. This journey to the Kantō in the Kōchō period gave the impetus which brought about the Kamakura shogunate's support for Eizon's order and of the Hōjō family in particular.

In addition, as a source from which we can ascertain what sort of people Eizon's adherents were, we have the *Saidaiji den'en mokuroku* 西大寺田園目録[3] dated the fifth day of the twelfth month of 1298 (Einin 6) and collected by Kyōe, who was in a position resembling that of a secretary to Eizon. There, records show that between 1234 (Tenpuku 2) and 1298, the fields contributed a total of more than 105 *chō* 町.[4] Information is included on the tracts of land which were donated, including their size, the dates at which they were given, the contributors, the purpose and their revenue. The land was, of course, located in various areas, ranging from inside Saidaji and its surroundings to provinces like Kawachi (present-day Ōsaka prefecture) and Yamashiro (present-day Kyōto prefecture). Initialy, there were many contributions of small fields of one or two *tan* 段,[5] but in 1248 (Hōji 2) the total surface of donated land exceeded one *chō*, and thereafter the records document the years in which donations reached up to one *chō* or more. In 1289 (Shōō 2), the

average scale per contribution was enlarged, such as by the donation which was made through the decree of the ex-emperor Go-fukakusa 後深草 (1243–1304) of the manors of Takeno 竹野 in Chikugo 筑後 (present-day Fukuoka prefecture), Sami 佐味 in Echigo (present-day Niigata prefecture), Iioka 飯岡 in Yamashiro, Aoyama 青山 in Owari 尾張 (present-day Aichi prefecture) and Yoshimi 吉美 in Tanba 丹波 (part of present-day Kyōto and Hyōgo prefectures). When we examine the contributors in this *Saidaiji den'en mokuroku*, there is an overwhelmingly large number of townspeople rather than farmers, priests, warriors and nuns among Eizon's disciples. Furthermore, though the wording 'someone living close by' appears, this does not refer to the farmers from the vicinity, but to the Buddhist lay supporters – the upāsaka and the upāsikā who were mentioned earlier. In considering the prosperity of Eizon's order in the latter part of the Kamakura period, the above-mentioned 105 *chō* seems to be a small quantity. That was probably due to the fact that Eizon's Ritsu priests, unlike those from the *kansō* temples like Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji, depended on alms and religious fund-raising – in short, on moveable property like rice and money, rather than manors. It should be noted that Eizon also carried out salvation of the townspeople from the Kinai to Kamakura.

Echin retreated from the *kansō* world about the year 1305 (Kagen 3) following his teacher Kōen, and cooperating with him he began his activities for the 'revival' of the precepts of the Hiei lineage. Especially when Kōen died in 1317 (Shōwa 6), Echin carried out missionary activities for the townspeople of Kyōto, inside and outside the Kinai region, with Gen'ōji 元応寺 and Hotsushōji 法勝寺 in Kyōto as his bases. His order extended its influence to Kamakura and turned powerful townspeople like Gotō Ejō 後藤恵成 (n.d.) into believers.

Kamakura, Ippen and Nichiren

In speaking of medieval towns, we cannot omit Kamakura. This is because the rise of Kamakura was of decisive importance to the development of Kamakura New Buddhism. The reason for this is that Kyōto and Nara were under the strong influence of the *kansō* temples of Enryakuji, Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji, as a consequence of

which the *nenbutsu* and Zen priests were violently oppressed there by the *kansō*.

Kamakura, which was one week's journey on horseback from Kyoto, lay far from such *kansō* temples, and it often happened that *nenbutsu* priests who had been forced into exile, stopped by it on their way, received the devotion of the warriors and settled there. As a result, first of all the *nenbutsu* orders of the Chinzei and Seizan traditions (both of which attached importance to the precepts) came to capture the hearts of the townspeople in Kamakura. This is symbolized by the statue of the Great Buddha, which was completed through the *kanjin* of the *nenbutsu* priest Jōkō 浄光 (n.d.), and Wakae Island 和賀江島 constructed by Ōamidabutsu 往阿弥陀仏 (n.d.). Later on, the Ritsu sect also gained many followers through the actions of Ninshō and his companions, and temples which had been affiliated to the Pure Land sect like Gokurakuji and Kanagawa Shōmyōji became Ritsu temples in 1267 (Bun'ei 4).

The Kamakura shogunate also felt the need for the formation of a group to perform its own religious services and provided special protection to the *tonseisō* who stressed the precepts. In the latter half of the Kamakura period, the upper echelons of the Zen and the Ritsu priests turned into the *kansō* of the shogunate. In short, as opposed to Kyōto, which was the incubator of the Kamakura New Buddhism, Kamakura was its nursery.

There was a founder who realized that the conversion of the townspeople of Kamakura was of decisive importance to the development of the New Buddhism. This was Ippen. He entered Kamakura in the spring of 1282 (Kōan 5), hoping to be able to propagate his religion to its townspeople. His determination at that time has been described in the *Ippen hijiri e* as follows: 'If he was going to succeed, he would have to succeed first in Kamakura.'[6] He was even prepared to give up his mission if he failed in Kamakura. Yet, the aristocracy as well as the lower classes responded positively, and his teachings were spread far and wide. His ministry in Kamakura, on which he risked his life as a man of religion, did succeed, and through performing his 'dancing *nenbutsu*' (*odori nenbutsu*) he gained adherents in Kyoto as well. His appearance travelling through the country dressed in his black robe, and carrying out his missionary work at places where people

gathered such as barrier stations, lodgings and in front of the gates of temples, is characteristic of the *tonseisō*.

As for Nichiren, he was born in the Kantō region and treated Kamakura as the main base for his mission. Attacked for his criticism of the various existing Buddhist schools, he met with persecution in 1271 (Bun'ei 8) and was exiled to Sado. Although he once returned to Kamakura, his challenge to the state was considered unacceptable, and he retreated to Mt Minobu.

In 1253 (Kenchō 5), when Nichiren was thirty-two, he recited the title of the *Lotus Sutra* in the Asahigamori near Kiyosumidera in Chiba, and began spreading his belief that the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra* were the ultimate true principles. The following year, he entered Kamakura and took up residence in Nagoe, which was both a strategic point for the traffic heading to the Miura peninsula and was also a funeral ground. His appearance would not have been different from that of any mendicant priest dressed in a black robe. It is said that from there he went into Kamakura's Komachi and conducted his sermons on the streets.

Still, the theory exists that Nichiren did not perform these street sermons, since they do not appear at all in standard sources like the *Nichiren ibun*. However, even if this is a legend which has been falsely ascribed to him in later times, it is remarkable when we consider the fact that there are no such myths about the *kansō*. It indicates that Nichiren's order understood him to be someone who spoke directly to the masses and held sermons on the streets. His followers believed that he directly addressed the townspeople of Kamakura.

Concerning Nichiren's order and the ordinary people, the *Kamakura denchū mondō kiroku* 鎌倉殿中問答記録 (also known as the *Mondōki* 問答記) is an important source. The *Mondōki* describes the progress of the controversy before Hōjō Takatoki 北条高時 (1303–33) and other members of the shogunate, about the correctness of the doctrine of Nichiren's sect. The debate between Nichiin from Matsubagayatsu and priests of the other orders, was recorded by Nichiin's disciple Nichijō 日静 (1297–1369). In particular, it is worth noting the debate which he held with Jūsōbō (a *nenbutsu* priest) on the twentieth day of the twelfth month of 1318 (Bunpō 2) in the study of Nagasaki nyūdō Enki (d.1333). When Jūsōbō asked Nichiin to set out the grounds for

his argument that believing in the other *nenbutsu*, Shingon, Zen and Ritsu sects causes one to fall into the 'Avīci hell of incessant suffering' (J.: *muken jigoku*), he was strongly challenged, and was at a loss for words. Then, he said to Nichiin: 'People who are not worth mentioning like blacksmiths and carpenters are the one's who believe in your teaching, but proper people do not.' However, it says that Nichiin, upon accepting the truth of this, struck back with the words, 'In the Buddhist law, one does not discuss people's qualities, except you ...,' meaning that Jūsōbō had not understood Buddhism.[7]

It is not certain whether such disputes by men like Nichiin were held in front of Hōjō Takatoki or not. Again, this *Mondoki* may be a fabrication of Nichijō's school in order to promote Nichiin's greatness. Nevertheless, since Nichiin admits in his debate with Jūsōbō that there were blacksmiths and carpenters among his believers, it is difficult to deny their existence among the adherents of the Nichiren sect from Matsubagayatsu in Nagoe. At the end of the Kamakura period, Nichiren's order also captured the hearts of the blacksmiths and carpenters of the city of Kamakura.

Kamakura New Buddhism of the tonseisō

In speaking of Kamakura and the *tonseisō*, we must not forget Myōan Eisai. He travelled to China twice, and it is said that during the second period when he was practising Zen under Xu'an Huaichang at the Tiantaishan, he was granted the 'inheritance of the law'. After his return to Japan, he began his propagation of Zen in Kyoto, but met with the censure of the *kansō*, and secluded himself in Hakata for a while. Eventually, he went to Kamakura in 1199 (Shōji 1), and came to receive the devotion of Hōjō Masako. In Kamakura, he was very active and made Jufukuji his base; in 1202 (Kennin 2) he was permitted to build Kenninji in Kyoto. Although he is said to have been held in esteem as a priest of esoteric Buddhism rather than of Zen, we can say that he received the faith of the higher echelons among the citizens of Kamakura.

Not just Eisai, but also the other Zen priests who entered Kamakura, such as Lanqi Daolong 蘭渓道隆 (1213–78) or Wuxue Zuyuan 無学祖元 (1226–86), are characterized by the

warm reception given by the leaders of the shogunate like Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227–63) and Tokimune 時宗 (1252–84). As the *Nomori kakagami* 野守鏡 (completed in 1295) says, 'the reason the Zen sect spread through the provinces, was that Kenchōji had been built in the Kantō'.[8] The establishment of Kenchōji by Hōjō Tokiyori in 1253 in Kamakura was an epoch-making event in the development of the Zen sect.

As a *tonseisō* who played a big role in the salvation of the towns-people of Kamakura, we cannot forget Ninshō either. He went to the Kantō region in the eighth month of 1253 (Kenchō 4) at the age of thirty-six, and entered Gokurakuji in Kamakura in 1267 (Bun'ei 4). With that temple as his base, he engaged in the salvation of the people of Kamakura ranging from the shogun to people suffering from leprosy. While he undertook works of civil engineering consolidating the harbours and roads of Kamakura on the one hand, beginning with his reparation of Wakae Island and the laying of the mountain road near Gokurakuji, he also supervised trade between Japan and the Mongol dynasty by controlling the Kamakura ports of Wakae and Mutsuura. With its profits, he performed various works of charity and salvation for the towns-people. It also seems that he held the right to prohibit the killing of living beings at Yuigahama, and had jurisdiction over the fishermen. A sketch, which is currently preserved in the Kamakura Kokuhōkan, depicts the heyday of Gokurakuji consisting of more than a hundred temple buildings and institutions for leprosy patients.

Shinran and farmers

The period from the end of the twelfth until the end of the sixteenth century is called the age of the 'system of private estates' (*shōen sei* 荘園制) or, to be exact, the 'system of the private estates and state domains' (*shōen-kōryō sei* 荘園公領), and it leaves no doubt that there were many farmers who lived on these estates. Furthermore, Shinran was exiled to Echigo during the Jōgen Persecution at the age of thirty-five, and although he was pardoned some four years later, he did not return to Kyoto but stayed in Echigo. He subsequently moved to Hitachi and returned to Kyoto in later life (around the age of sixty). In total,

he spent more than twenty years in the eastern provinces of Japan. The theory exists, therefore, that the core of Shinran's adherents consisted of producers centred around the lay-farmers who were under the control of the lords and administrators of these domains and manors. Moreover, the revolts (*ikki* 一揆) of the Ikkō shū are treated as riots by peasants, and it has been thought that the Jōdo shin sect, which is seen as representative of Kamakura New Buddhism, was based around farmers. That said, the theory addressed here, which argues that Kamakura New Buddhism was the Buddhism of the *tonseisō* and, as such, of ordinary people, differs substantially from what went before.

Yet, I should emphasize that, first and foremost, the essential rationale of the Buddhism of the *tonseisō* was the salvation of the 'individual', and that included farmers and townspeople. In fact, with the exception of Shinran, all the founders who have been described up to this point propagated their teachings and set up their orders in urban centres.

Moreover, until the appearance of Rennyo 蓮如[9] (1415–99), Shinran's order was a decisively minor group among the *tonseisō* orders, and was in no way representative. One could say that it may have been an exceptional order. For example, through sources like the *Shinran shōnin monryo kyōmyō chō* (1344), Shinran's letters, and the thirteenth-century *Nijūshi hai chō* it has been confirmed that he had seventy-five direct disciples.[10] By comparison, the number of priests on whom Eizon directly conferred the precepts (we can call them his direct disciples) reached as many as 1,694 in the period between 1267 (Bun'ei 4) and 1290 (Shōō 3) alone (according to the list of achievements which were written down by his disciple Kyōe in 1290, the *Shien shōnin donin gyōhō ketsugeki* 思円上人度人行法結夏記),[11] which is twenty-two times as many as Shinran. Also, his lay believers numbered 96,016. Thus, in Shinran's time, we can hardly say that his mission proved to be particularly successful, while the Zen and Ritsu sects were far more dominant.

Furthermore, there is a view that regions to which the Shin sect spread its teachings in the days of Rennyo were not necessarily rural areas, but urbanized centres. For example, Katada which was famous as one of the centres of the Ikkō shū sect, was a commercial town prospering because of the water transport busi-

ness opportunities on Lake Biwa. Therefore, I believe it is now time to reconsider the theory which states that the adherents of the Jōdo shin sect were farmers.

Outline of Japanese Buddhist history from ancient times until Edo

So far, I have submitted my model of the *kansō* and the *tonseisō*, and described the essence of the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period while addressing the differences between the salvation activities of both groups. In my opinion, it follows that it is precisely the religion, which was born from the *tonseisō* sects who had seceded from the *kansō* (the *tonseisō* Buddhism) that constituted Kamakura New Buddhism.

Why did both the priests like Hōnen and those who were seen as the reformists of the Old Buddhism like Myōe and Eizon, who in earlier studies were regarded as the founders of Kamakura New Buddhism, remove themselves from the *kansō*? Why did priests like Myōe and Eizon, who walked the way of coexistence with the secular authorities, feel the need to seclude themselves from their *kansō* status? By examining this problem, I believe I can demonstrate that while the *kansō* enjoyed many privileges, they were required to remain pure and were restricted in their religious activities, due to the fact that they took the ceremonies for the protection of the state as their foremost responsibility. In contrast, the *tonseisō* became 'free' from those restrictions and put their efforts into the salvation of the 'individual'. Thus, the *tonseisō* orders were founded with Hōnen as their forerunner.

I think that this very opposition, coexistence and division of labour between the *kansō* and the *tonseisō* forms the basis for the development of the history of Buddhism from the end of the twelfth century until the end of the sixteenth century, and that the Buddhist community of those times worked under the *kansō-tonseisō* system. Moreover, at the time it was thought that the *kami* and the buddhas were in essence the same (the 'theory of the manifestation of the original state', or *honji suijaku setsu*), as is expressed in the term '*shinbutsu shūgō*' (神仏習合), and it often occurred that Shintō and Buddhist priests lived together. Furthermore, the *kami* often depended on the temples as tutelary deities, like the relationship of Enryakuji with the Hie *jinja*, or

Kōfukuji and the Kasuga *jinja*. For example, in the case of the oppression of Hōnen's order, the outcasts (*inujinin* 犬神人, also called *tsurumeso*) of the Gionsha who stood under the command of Enryakuji were used. Thus, this *kansō-tonseisō* system even had a great effect on the world of Shintō.

By the way, this system of *kansō* and *tonseisō* was neither established out of nothing, nor did it break down suddenly. Let me now give a synopsis of a schema of the development of Japanese Buddhist history from the ancient to the early modern period. In my opinion, the development of Japanese Buddhism in the ancient period can be understood through the tension between the Buddhism of those who were *kansō* and those who were not. In the eighth century, the official priests and nuns came into existence. At the same time, there were also self-ordained priests and priests who had secluded themselves from the *kansō*. Nevertheless, only the *kansō* represented the formal Buddhism, and together with their privileges they also had restrictions as stipulated in the *Sōniryō* and the *Engishiki*.

The *kansō* treated the religious services for the protection of the state as their first duty. Though this 'state' refers to the emperor, it goes without saying that it does not mean the emperor as an individual. It points to him as the symbol for the community of the people of Yamato. Each person was deemed to be embedded in the community of the Yamato people, and to hold services for the protection of the state also meant to pray for the members of this community. It is true that there were also many among the *kansō* who lived in the regional clan-temples, but they usually conducted prayers for the patrons of their temples on top of performing state services. Therefore, I describe the Buddhism of the *kansō* as a community religion.

Still, it is not that no *kansō* temples allowed for the visits of worship by women and ordinary people. In fact, sites such as Hasedera and Ishiyamadera did become famous religious retreats for women. However, those which did not hold funerals, excluded women and took the services for the state as their first axiom were the representative *kansō* temples.

On the other hand, to those who were not *kansō*, it was the first principle to respond to wishes of individuals for salvation, even if it occurred that they also conducted state services. I would call

this a personal religion. Yet, early non-*kansō* could not set up orders, and in contrast to the sects of Kamakura New Buddhism, they remained irregular to the last. Moreover, the clan- and village-*kami* were the objects of faith for the people who were embedded in the village and clan communities, which we can term community religions as well. Therefore, only the community religions were the regular ones in the ancient period.

At the end of this period, through the degeneration of the ancient state, the *kansō* temples came to depend on private estates and religious fund-raising as their economic basis. Over time, the donations of the worshippers increased in importance and the miraculous origins of these temples and shrines began to be recorded. But still, the restrictions of the *kansō*, such as the stricture to avoid defilement remained, and they treated the prayers for the protection of the state as their foremost duty to the end.

However, at the end of the twelfth century the capital of Kyoto prospered greatly as a commercial city, and the *tonseisō* succeeded in setting up their orders beginning with Hōnen. Though there were some among them who were suppressed by the *kansō*, there appeared also those who, receiving the protection of the Kamakura shogunate, extended their influence beyond Kamakura and proved to be successful in the development of their order by returning to Kyoto. Thus, the orders of the *tonseisō* were acknowledged as regular. In other words, the personal religions which took the salvation of the 'individual' as their first axiom were accepted as normal for the first time. Of course, though one speaks of 'individuals', it often happened that the *tonseisō* served whole families, and in reality one often became an adherent through one's household as the unit. However, because the personal religions basically had the 'individual' as their target, problems concerning faith, causing confrontations between husbands and wives or the disunion of parents and their children, often happened following the formation of Kamakura New Buddhism. For example, it happened that the daughter-in-law of the Shintō priest of the Kibitsu no miya had become a devout believer of Ippen during her husband's absence, and had become a nun without his consent. Ippen was almost murdered by the furious husband who found out that his wife had become a

nun when he returned home.[12] This story clearly demonstrates that Ippen's teachings were all about a personal religion making the individual the object of its salvation.

In this way, the New Buddhism of the Kamakura period could be described as an island of personal religions being born in a sea of community religions. With the expansion of commercial relations and the widespread establishment of urbanized places, the orders of the Kamakura New Buddhism went through a major change whereby the personal religions established deep roots within Japanese society.

Zen and the Ritsu priests who attached importance to the precepts and belonged to the moderate groups of the new Buddhism were appointed to responsible posts in the shogunates of both the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, and some of them appeared, in a manner of speaking, as the '*kansō*' of the warrior government. But they must be distinguished from the *kansō* who served the emperor. As a result, the Ritsu and Zen priests developed into vast orders owning more than 1,500 branch-temples between them. Thus, from the latter part of the Kamakura period, the orders of Kamakura New Buddhism were not only qualitatively but also quantitatively of great social influence. From the formation of this new Buddhism onwards, therefore, we enter into the period of the evolution of personal religions (let us call them the first type of personal religions). This does not mean, of course, that the community religions disappeared.

Thus, the Zen and the Ritsu priests became the so-called '*kansō*' of the warrior government, but with the establishment of the Edo shogunate, when counter-measures were taken against Christianity, a policy was adopted in which, as a general rule, the members of all denominations had to change into its '*kansō*'. Through the introduction of the 'religious inquiry registers' (*shūmon aratame chō* 宗門改帳) and the 'parishioner system' (*danka seido* 檀家制度), the transformation of the priests into '*kansō*' by the warrior government was completed. For this reason, we can call the Edo period the age of the '*kansō*' Buddhism of the warriors. Nevertheless, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the *tonseisō* orders did not lose their distinctive features as personal religions. I believe that there is a

crucial difference between the *kansō* who served the emperor and the so-called '*kansō*' of the warrior families.

The Buddhism of the Edo period is often called a 'household' (J.: *ie* 家) religion. Though it is true that the parishioner system took the 'household' as its unit, we have to recognize the fact that this 'household' Buddhism was premised on the 'individual'. In particular, the Buddhist obsequies and services for the dead were entirely concerned with the 'individual' right through to the end of life. Consequently, it happened time and again that husbands and wives, parents and their children believed in different denominations.[13]

From the first to the second type of personal religions

From the Bakumatsu period (the closing days of the Tokugawa shogunate) onwards, once again new religious movements were born. These are the so-called 'new religions' (*shin shūkyō*, and also the 'new-new religions', *shin shin shūkyō*) like Tenrikyō 天理教, Konkōkyō 金光教, Omotokyō 大本教, Sōka Gakkai 創価学会, Seichō no Ie 成長の家, Tōitsu Kyōkai 統一教会 and Kōfuku no Kagaku 幸福の科学. Clearly, these new religions are also personal religions, but the network in which the 'individual' is placed differs from that of the age of the first type of personal religions like those of Kamakura New Buddhism, and I distinguish them as the second type of personal religions. It was the commercial relationships in the urbanized areas which produced the new approach to human relationships in the era of the first type of personal religions. In the world of commerce, relationships revolving around lending and borrowing formed the base. These were relationships without time limitations, known as 'perpetual trade'. As a result, people faced each other as individuals with their merchandise and agreed lending and borrowing terms which lasted for a relatively long time.

In contrast, in the age of the second type of personal religions, transactions became a common element day-to-day within the commercial world. People faced each other as individuals as buyers or sellers, but were confronted with relationships which immediately disintegrated. It is precisely this new state of affairs in the forming of human relationships which forms the back-

ground to the formation of the second type of personal religions. I believe that the very emergence of such a new element in the urbanized areas makes one much more acutely aware of the 'individual', thereby driving the desire for a new religion.

When in Kyoto, you will see many bars with the sign 'No admittance to guests without an introduction'. This could be interpreted as a manifestation of the closeness of the inhabitants of Kyoto. However, at the same time it also perhaps speaks to the fear and distrust which townspeople (many of whom are tradespeople) feel towards visitors. Human relationships, which were only transient and merely linked by commercial exchange, gave birth to this fear and distrust. Again, these feelings reinforce the sensitivities of the 'individual', and prepared the way for the arrival of the new second type of personal religions. I also think that this model applies to the development of other religions worldwide.

Notes

[1] See Masayuki Taira, *Nihon Chūsei no Shakai to Bukkyō*, 173.
[2] See *Nihon koten bungaku taikei – Gukanshō*, 294.
[3] See Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, *Saidaiji Eizon denki shūsei*, 412–441.
[4] One *chō* corresponds to 0.992 hectares.
[5] One *tan* corresponds to 993 square metres.
[6] See *Nihon emaki taisei (bekkan) – Ippen shōnin eden*, 135–137.
[7] See *Kaitei Shiseki shūran* Vol. 27 (Kyōto: Rinsen shoten, 1984), 377.
[8] See *Gunshoruijū* Vol. 27 *Zatsubu* (Tokyo: Zoku gunshoruijū kanseikai, 1932), 509.
[9] Concerning Renyo, see Mark l. Blum and Shin'ya Yasutomi (ed.), *Rennyo and the Roots of Modern Japanese Buddhism*, (NY: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[10] See Jōryū Chiba, 'Shinran montei no kyōdan keisei' in *Nihon meisō ronshū* vol. 7 (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō bunkan, 1983) 419–434.
[11] See: Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo (ed.), *Saidaiji Eizon denki shūsei*, 213, 214.
[12] In the fourth volume of *the Ippen hijiri e*. See *Nihon emaki taisei (bekkan) – Ippen shōnin eden*, 93–100.
[13] Masahide Bitō, *Edojidai to wa Nani ka* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992) 121.

CHAPTER 13

BUDDHISM IN THE MUROMACHI ERA



THE KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE was overthrown in the fifth month of 1333 (Genkō 3), followed by the Kemmu Restoration (J.: *Kenmu Shinsei* 建武新政) by Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339), and in 1336, the Muromachi shogunate was established and the Muromachi era (1336–1573) began. During the Muromachi era, new Kamakura Buddhism sects, or Buddhism sects, founded by monks who had departed from the temples in which they had served as official monks settled into society at large. The monks of the moderate Zen and Ritsu sects who had been protected under the Kamakura shogunate continued to be protected by the Muromachi shogunate throughout the fourteenth century. Even a special department was established within the government to protect the Zen and Ritsu sects. In the early Muromachi era, Ankokuji temples 安国寺 and the Rishō (divine favour) pagodas 利生塔 were built in each province for the repose of the deceased people in the Genkō incident and other battles between the Northern and Southern Courts. These facilities were established mainly in the temples of the Zen and Ritsu sects.[1]

The focus here will be on two monks, Monkan 文観 (1278–1357) and Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275 – 1351). Monkan, a Ritsu-sect monk, recently came to the attention of the academic community. Monkan's religious name was Shuon 守音 or Gushin 弘真. He served as a close aide to Emperor Go-Daigo, and was a monk with an unusual profile and strange appearance (J.: *igyō* 異形).[2]

Monkan

On orders from Emperor Go-Daigo under the guise of a prayer for the safe childbirth of his second consort Saionji Kishi 西園寺嬉子 (1303–33), Monkan prayed for the downfall of the Kamakura shogunate. When this was made known to the Kamakura shogunate, Monkan was exiled to Iwō Island. He was allowed by the Restoration Government to return to the capital, and lived in splendour for a while. Following the fall of the government, however, he lost his position.

The name of Monkan first appears in a historical record of 1302 as a Ritsu sect monk who belonged to Hannyaji in Nara. At that time he was twenty-five years old. The Ritsu monks specialized in the study and protection of the precepts that were considered to have been formulated by Śākyamuni. He then served as a senior priest at Kitajō Jōrakuji in Harima province (present-day Hyōgo) and also at Chikurinji in Kasayama in Yamato province (present-day Kasa in Sakurai city) which were branch temples of Saidaiji in Nara

In 1316, he went through a ritual to be taught the secret principle of esoteric Buddhism by the monk Dōjun 道順 (n.d.) of the Hō-on-in of Daigoji in Kyōto, and joined the Hō-on-in school. Dōjun was trusted by Emperor Go-Uda 後宇多天皇 (1267–1324), father of Go-Daigo. Thus, Monkan was introduced to Emperor Go-Daigo by Dōjun. In the third month of 1324, Monkan created the statue of Monju Bosatsu (Mañjuśri, the bodhisattva of wisdom and intellect) in Han-nyaji, and prayed for the success of Emperor Go-Daigo's plot to overthrow the Kamakura shogunate. In this way, Monkan developed close ties with the emperor, and led the Ritsu monks of the Eizon order to side with Emperor Go-Daigo.

Monkan was a Ritsu monk who left the position of official monk. While he worked for the socially outcast, such as sufferers of Hansen's disease and beggars, because of his close relationship with Emperor Go-Daigo, he was appointed to prominent posts, usually assigned only to official monks. These posts included the senior priest of Tōji and the head abbot of Kōyasan Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺. In 1334, brother monks in Kongōbuji demanded that he should be dismissed. They accused Monkan of becoming the head abbot of the temple purely for status and fortune despite

having left the position of official monk and becoming a monk in black *kesa*, and of not observing the precepts despite his being a Ritsu monk. He was also impeached as he was considered to be a successful achiever of the Tachikawa school 立川, which was a heretical religion of Esoteric Buddhism. As such, Monkan had an extraordinary career. He accompanied Emperor Go-Daigo when he went to Yoshino and died at Kawachi Amano Kongōji in 1357.

Emperor Go-Daigo is well known for having attempted to breakdown the conventional rank-and-order system by assigning low-rank aristocrats (such as Hino Toshimoto 日野俊基, d.1332) and unknown warriors (such as Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成, 1294–1336) to important positions. The emperor tried to bring under his control not only the official monks who were responsible for praying for peace and order but also the black-*kesa* (robe) monks, such as Monkan, who were known to have extraordinary careers. The appointment of Monkan and other black-*kesa* monks for important positions was part of the process.

Musō Soseki, an 'official monk' of the Muromachi shogunate

The monks who worked in close association with the Muromachi shogunate were from the Rinzai sect (one of Zen Buddhism). They were 'official monks' under the patronage of the Muromachi shogunate. The shogunate even exerted the right to appoint the chief priest of some Rinzai sect temples. The letter of appointment, known as '*kōjō*, 公帖' and the fee for issuing such a letter was a source of income for the shogunate. Three ranks of Zen temples were established by this time, namely, *gozan* 五山, *jitssatsu* 十刹, and *shozan* 諸山.[3] Zen monks who became resident monks in these temples were called '*gozan-ha* monks 五山派僧.' On the other hand, the monks of temples that set up a clear distinction between themselves and the shogunate, such as the Sōtō sect temples under their head temple Eiheiji, together with the Rinzai sect temples of Daitokuji (Kita-ku, Kyoto) and Myōshinji (Ukyō-ku, Kyoto), were called '*rinka* 林下'.

Official monks, which were discussed earlier, meant government officer monks whose entrance into priesthood and ranks as a monk were determined by the emperor of the time. Whereas, in this chapter, 'official monks' in quotation-marks refers to govern-

ment official monks under the Muromachi shogunate. Given the patronage of the Muromachi shogunate, Rinzai Zen Buddhism spread more widely among noblemen and warriors across the country. The most notable 'official monk' was Musō Soseki (1275–1351).

Musō Soseki[4] was born in Ise province (present-day Mie) in 1275. A story goes that his father was Tōjō Sanetsuna 東条実綱 (n.d.) of the Sasaki family, and his mother was a daughter of Hōjō Masamura 北条政村 (1205–73). The family moved to Kai province (present-day Yamanashi) when Musō Soseki was four years old, and his mother died in the same year. In 1283, he entered the priesthood under monk Kūa 空阿 (n.d.) at Heienji. In 1292, he went to Nara for an ordination at the age of eighteen at Tōdaiji, and became a fully qualified monk. He then returned to Heienji for further training in Buddhism.

The Buddhism teachings that he learned at Heienji were Tendai sect Buddhism and Esoteric Buddhism. Judging from the fact that he studied both Tendai and Esoteric, Musō Soseki can be considered to have belonged to the Onjōji group. As the monks in the Onjōji group around that time went through an ordination at Tōdaiji, it is quite natural that Musō Soseki should also have received his ordination at Tōdaiji.

However, recognizing that his mentor of the Tendai sect died leaving behind a bad reputation, he became sceptical about what he had learned until then as he considered that his mentor did not attain buddhahood even though he should have been well versed in sutras. In other words, he was sceptical about attaining enlightenment through learning sutras. He then converted from the Tendai sect and Esoteric Buddhism to the Zen sect as its key beliefs were 'Enlightenment cannot be expressed in words and letters, but is directly conveyed to the heart', and 'Enlightenment cannot be written, therefore, one should not be too dependent on phrases and words written in sutras, but communicate teachings from heart to heart.'

He converted to the Zen sect in 1294, and from that time, he studied under Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (J.: Issan Ichinei, 1247–1317) who had come to Japan from China and Kōhō Ken-nichi 高峰顕日 (1241–1316). At the age of thirty-one, he succeeded in mastering the teachings of Kōhō Ken-nichi after which he served

as his disciple. Emperor Go-Daigo and the Ashikaga brothers, Takauji and Tadayoshi, who were warrior chiefs, believed in Rinzai sect Buddhism, and Musō Soseki led the prosperity of the Rinzai sect during this Northern-Southern Court period. He recommended to the Ashikaga brothers, who were in fear of the revengeful spirits of Hōjō Takatoki 北条高時 (1303–33), Emperor Go-Daigo, Kusunoki Masashige and others who died at the time when the Kamakura shogunate was defeated (and also during the fight between the Northern and Southern Courts), that Ankokuji 安国寺 and a 'Rishō pagoda 利生塔' be designated in every province; he also recommended that Tenryūji (Saga, Kyoto) should be built in order to console their souls.

Rishō pagodas were either three-storey or five-storey buildings in which two pieces of the Buddha's bones were enshrined. From 1338 to 1345, one pagoda was designated to each province. Among existing temples, one temple in each province was designated as Ankokuji. These designated temples were given patronage by the Muromachi shogunate in return for their services to console the souls of the deceased.

The terms of 'Ankokuji' and the 'Rishō' pagoda were applied in 1345. Rather than constructing new temples and pagodas, the existing temples and pagodas or wooden symbols of a five-fold tomb were designated as such. The assignment of existing temples and pagodas helped to spread the power of the Northern Court to all parts of Japan, thereby exerting an influence comparable to the construction of provincial temples and provincial nunneries by Emperor Shōmu in the eighth century. At the suggestion of Musō, Tenryūji was built in 1345 by the Ashikaga brothers within the imperial villa in Kameyama, Kyoto, in order to console the soul of the late Emperor Go-Daigo.

Because of the prominence of the services by Musō Soseki and other monks, the Rinzai sect was treated like an 'official sect' for the Muromachi shogunate, and it grew in influence. Rokuonji Kinkaku (Temple of the Golden Pavilion) and Jishōji Ginkaku (Temple of the Silver Pavilion) in Kyoto are symbols of the prosperity of the sect. In addition to religious functions, the Rinzai sect played an important role in international negotiations with China, just like diplomats. As there were a number of Chinese monks in Zen temples, monks appeared to be well versed in the

language. Rinzai Zen Buddhism spread throughout Japan with the patronage of provincial constables.

Ikkyū Sōjun, an extravagant monk

Ikkyū Sōjun[5] 一休宗純 (1394–1481), is famous as a humorous and witty monk through fairy tales and comic books about 'Ikkyū san'. The image was created by the 'Ikkyū Episode' published in 1668. What was his true personality? 'Ikkyū' is a title expressing his desire as a Buddhist, and 'Sōjun' is his name. 'Ikkyū' means 'one rest' between worldly desires and enlightenment and symbolizes his life filled with freewheeling attitudes and extravagance. Ikkyū was born to Emperor Go-Komatsu 後小松天皇 (1377–1433) and a Southern Court noblewoman. Even though some challenge this record, it is widely accepted today. At the age of six, he entered Ankokuji in Kyoto. He studied Zen Buddhism under Zōge Shūkan 象外集鑑 (n.d.) and was named Shūken. By the age of fifteen, he had a reputation as a poet. At the age of sixteen, he left the temple, and became a student of Kasō Sōdon 華叟宗曇 (1352–1428) at Katada in Ōmi province. Kasō Sōdon was a Zen monk in the line of Daitō Kokushi (Sōhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超, 1282–1338), founder of Daitokuji and a Rinzai Zen subsect that belonged to '*rinka*'. The title 'Ikkyū' was given by him.

He went through hard training on the shore of Lake Biwa with meagre food and clothing, making fragrance bags and painting dolls for Girls' Festival Day in order to eke out a living. It is said that he attained enlightenment at the age of twenty-seven while looking at crows flying over the lake. After a while, he left Katada, and pursued and preached Zen on the streets of Kyoto and Sakai, Osaka. While doing so, he criticized monks not only of the Gozan group but also the Daitokuji group who tended to seek status and fortune and an idle life. He walked along the streets in Sakai city in Osaka with a large wooden sword at his waist, playing a bamboo flute. He said: 'Just as the wooden sword could not be distinguished from a real one from outside, real monks are hardly distinguishable from Zen monks. Many false monks are deceiving the public.'

Ikkyū hated ostentation and hypocrisy, and lived an open life, which included drinking in public and having relationships with

women. Around the time he was seventy he fell in love with a beautiful blind woman called Shin jisha 森侍者. In 1456, he restored Myōshōji in the southern part of Yamashiro and conducted his activities while living in Shūon-an hermitage inside the temple compound. He was appointed the forty-eighth head priest of Daitokuji in 1474, and restored the temple which was burnt in a fire during the Ōnin War (1467–77) with financial assistance from Owa Sōrin 尾和宗臨 (n.d.), a merchant in Sakai, and others.

The life of Ikkyū was filled with wild abandon and eccentric behaviour, but his unyielding attitudes, free thinking and common people-oriented way of life resulted in his gaining a reputation later in the Edo era for being a witty monk, whether true or false, who was always a friend to the common people.

Zen (Ritsu) monks were authorized and protected by the Muromachi shogunate, but were alienated from the warriors in general as well as the merchants and craftspeople. In particular, the power of Ritsu monks appeared to be weakened at the end of the fourteenth century as they were defeated in the competition with the other orders of Buddhist sects founded by monks who had left the position of official monks. In the Sōtō sect under the Dōgen school, Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1268–1325), referred to previously, spread Zen Buddhism among the public, greatly expanding its range of influence, which later served as the basis of its future prosperity. The location of Sōjiji, the present head temple of the Sōtō-sect, has its origin in the temple which was given to him. The Sōtō-sect order would not have developed as it is today without his activities.

Kamakura New Buddhist sects made rapid progress during the Muromachi era. It does not mean that the traditional Buddhist sects declined all at once. In fact, traditional official monks made desperate efforts to maintain their power. They changed their views and authorized moderate monks among those who had left traditional temples and incorporated them in their groups in order to strengthen their power. Because of this, we will see later, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–82) found it necessary to attack and burn Enryakuji because the temple represented official monk temples. Jinson 尋尊 (1430–1508) of Kōfukuji can be cited as a representative of official scholar monks

in the middle of the Muromachi era. Jinson left an enormous quantity of records entitled '*Daijōin Jisha Zōji ki* 大乗院寺社雑事記 (Miscellaneous Records of Temples and Shrines of Daijōin)'. It provides important historical resource relating to the Kinai region in the late Middle Ages.

However, it was the Nichiren and Shinran schools that succeeded in propagating their teachings among ordinary samurai, merchants and craftsmen from the middle of the Muromachi era onwards, despite the fact that they were sometimes oppressed by the authorities who considered them radical new religions.

Nisshin with a pot on his head

Nichizō 日像 (1269–1342) built Myōkenji in Kyoto in 1334 and made it into a temple for prayers to ensure the wishes of the emperor came true. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Nichiren school, in the early fourteenth century, obtained the court's authorization and found support among the samurai warriors, merchants and craftsmen in Kamakura. But in the fifteenth century, Nisshin[6] 日親 (1407–88) followed the founder Nichiren's footsteps to remonstrate against Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori's 足利義教 (1394–1441) policies, and ended up being persecuted.

Nisshin was born in 1407 in Haniya, Kazusa province (present-day, Yamatake, Chiba), as a son of the provincial lord, Haniya Sakon Shōgen Noriyoshi (n.d.). He subsequently left his lord's house to become a monk in order to follow Nichiei 日栄 (n.d.) of Myōsenji in Haniya, although the exact date is not known. After undergoing training in Nakayama Hokkekyōji in Shimofusa province (present-day Chiba), he began propagating Nichiren's teachings in Kamakura and Kyōto at the age of twenty-one in 1427. In 1433, at the age of twenty-seven, he went to Kōshōji in Matsuo, Ogi-gun, Hizen province, which was patronized by the Chiba family, the benefactor of Nakayama Hokkekyōji. However, because all he recommended was simply the recitation of the prayer of the Nichiren sect, he was ousted from Ogi in the seventh month of 1437, when he was thirty-one years old.

He then went to Kyoto, on the sixth day of the fifth month of

1439, called upon the shogun and made a direct appeal to him stating that 'the current social unrest is taking place because the shogun does not believe in the *Hokkekyō sutra*'. People were in fear of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori because of his tyrannical regime. Nisshin was released on this occasion but was told that he would be severely punished if he were to make another petition like this one. Regardless of the shogun's threat, in the following year he made the same appeal again taken prisoner, and was immediately tortured. The torture was extreme. His genitals were pierced by a bamboo stick and a hot deep pan was forced onto his head. As a result of this punishment, he came to be nicknamed 'the Reverend with a pot on his head'.

His strongly-held belief that religion should challenge the holders of power is amazing. After this, he was repeatedly arrested and released, while he continued proselytizing with enthusiasm. He succeeded in attracting followers among the townspeople of Kyoto, and finally built Honpōji at Sanjō, Kyoto. As a result of Nisshin's activities, as well as those of other monks, the Nichiren sect spread among the urban populace in Kyoto. The Nichren sect fought against *Ikk*ō *Ikki* 一向一揆 (Ikkō insurrection) in 1532–36, and grew in strength and influence. It even mobilized the common people in Kyoto, promoting self-government and the exemption of land and other taxes as well as managing the judiciary and the police. However, in 1536, triggered by a conflict with Enryakuji, Honpōji was burned down by Enryakuji's militia together with allied temples in other provinces as well as the property of allied daimyō (feudal lords), thereby ending the Hokke insurrection. This is known as the Tenmon Hokke riot 天文法華の乱.

Rennyo and Ikkō Ikki

Under Rennyo's[7] 蓮如 (1415–99) leadership, the Shinran school grew to be the largest religious force of its period. Rennyo issued '*ofumi* 御文' or '*gobunshō*' (epistles) in which he explained Shinran's teaching in plain language in order to make it accessible to the common people. He also established the 'Honganji kingdom' and advocated brotherly relations saying 'I will not have any disciples.' These activities often attracted criticism for

distorting the teachings of Shinran; consequently, opinion about him is divided. Despite this, there is no doubt that Rennyo restored or, arguably, even laid the foundations of the latter development of the order of the Jōdo Shinshū sect, which continues to be one of the greatest religious forces in contemporary Japan.

Rennyo was born in 1415 to father Zonnyo 存如 (1396–1457) and a mother who was a servant to his grandfather. His mother left his house when he was six years old because she learned that a woman from the Ebina family that belonged to the group serving the Muromachi shogunate would be coming as Zonnyo's legitimate wife. Before leaving the house, Rennyo's mother commissioned an artist to paint his portrait and brought it with her. Because his mother left him, he was raised by his stepmother. Later on in his life, he looked for both the artist and his mother, but he could not find either. It is thought that his mother's low rank affected Rennyo's promotion, and he was already forty-three years old when he succeeded to his father's priesthood. In general, Buddhist leaders including Hōnen, Dōgen, Eizon and Musō lost one parent early in their life. Rennyo also virtually lost his mother during his childhood.

Upon being appointed as the eighth head priest of Honganji in 1457, he energetically began his missionary work. At the beginning, his activities were focused on Ōmi province (present-day Shiga), and he succeeded in finding followers among craftsmen such as blacksmiths, oil men, pail-makers, noodle-shop owners, grinders, ships carpenters and other artisans. It is widely recognized that the Jōdo shin shū sect has farmers as its main followers. However, it should be noted that the people Rennyo first succeeded in attracting as followers were artisans.

The success of Rennyo in his missionary work in Ōmi province meant an increasing work-load at Enryakuji. So, he moved on to Yoshizaki Gobō (Kanatsu-chō, Fukui), Yamashina Honganji (Kyōto) and Ōsaka Ishiyama Honganji (Ōsaka). The question arises, therefore, what did he actually do in his missionary activities? The answer is that he used the letter-writing method to explain the essential doctrine of the Shinshū sect in simple terms (this is called '*ofumi*' or '*gobunshō*') and gave a copy to his followers. He also organized religious associations. Meetings

were held with literate people who could read the epistles, while he explained the teaching of the Jōdo shinshū sect to others who were not literate, and participants had discussions based on questions among the listeners. In this way, the number of associations increased. In addition, he handed out a sheet of paper or cloth on which six Chinese characters '*Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu*' were written as an object of adoration. As in the Jōdo sect (and also the Jishū sect, to be accurate) followers exclusively recited its '*nenbutsu*' prayer. It was commonly called 'Ikkō (exclusive)' religion, and the federation of followers associations was called 'Ikkō Ikki'. This federation grew in strength and controlled Kaga province (present-day Ishikawa) from 1488 to 1580.

However, after 1570, Honganji in Ishiyama, Ōsaka (the eleventh head abbot was Kennyo 顕如, 1543–92) and Oda Nobunaga stood face to face, which resulted in a reduction of Honganji's forces. In 1580, the two parties concluded peace and the Ikkō Ikki's military strength virtually disappeared. Honganji was once located at Tenma in Osaka in 1585, and then moved to Shichijō Horikawa in Kyoto in 1591, where it is today. In 1602, Tokugawa Ieyasu gave the land at Karasuma Rokujō to Kyōnyo 教如 (1558–1614), the first son of Kennyo to build a temple (later called Higashi 'East' Honganji). A conflict between this Honganji began with the existing Honganji where Junnyo, the third son of Kennyo was serving as head priest. Hence, Honganji was split into two locations, east and west, at this point.

With a plan to unify Japan under his control, Oda Nobunaga defeated Ikkō Ikki. But it was not the only target for his military campaign. In the ninth month of 1571, Nobunaga attacked and burnt down Enryakuji which he considered a challenge to his authority, killing more than three thousand people including monks as well as laymen and women. This was a major setback for Enryakuji after having enjoyed a long period of prosperity under Minamoto Yoritomo, Ashigaka Takauji and other shoguns who had found the temple troublesome to deal with. Interestingly, Nobunaga's attack also had symbolic significance in that it brought to an end the system of official monks and non-official monks in medieval Japan.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi restructures the Buddhist community

Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–98), who succeeded Oda Nobunaga and continued the unification of Japan, attempted to erect the Great Buddha image at Hōkōji temple in Higashiyama, Kyoto, modelling it after that of Tōdaji. He began construction work in 1586, and conducted the ceremony of erecting the pillar of the Buddha Image Hall in the fifth month of 1591. Because he hurried the completion, the eighteen-metre-high Buddha image was a wooden sitting statue on which *urushi* lacquer was applied. But, in 1596, soon after its installation, the statue was destroyed by earthquake.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi conducted a memorial service for his late parents with one thousand monks at the library of sutras in the Buddha Image Hall in the ninth month of 1595. He invited one hundred monks each from the Shingon, Tendai, Ritsu, Gozan, Nichiren, Jōdo, Yugyō (Jishū) and Ikkō sects. A one-thousand-monk-service involving the recitation of sutras would take place for the repose of the victim's souls when an extraordinary natural disaster occurred. Because of the enormous costs involved in inviting so many monks, only a leading person in authority was able to hold such an event. Even though it was called a one-thousand-monk-service, the number of monks actually invited may have been eight hundred, or less. Clearly, it meant a service attended by many monks.

The service had important implications for Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He appeared to want to mobilize various influential Buddhist sects into Kyoto around that time in order to gain their consent to accepting him as ruler. He invited these eight sects, of which six (except for Shingon and Tendai) were founded by monks who had left official monk status, while the Nanto Six sects from ancient times (Sanron, Jōjitsu, Hossō, Kusha, Kegon and Ritsu) were excluded. Finally, Toyotomi Hideyoshi authorized eight new sects, with the intention of putting them under his control.[8] Against Toyotomi's wishes, it should be noted that Nichiō (1565–1630) of the Nichiren sect refused to participate in the mass service on the basis that 'We do not receive any offerings from non-followers' (mentioned later).

In due course, Hideyoshi used the service as a test of loyalty for the Buddhist community. With this, following the successful

suppression of the Hokke and Ikkō insurrections and the burning of Enryakuji, the moves by Oda Nobunaga and other daimyo in the Warring States period to force Buddhist militia to surrender to secular powers came to an end.

In the meantime, in the seventh month of 1549, the Jesuit missionary Francisco Xavier (1506–52), arrived in Kagoshima. For the first time in history, Japanese Buddhism had to confront a new religious philosophy. Christianity gradually took root in Japanese society under the protection of Oda Nobunaga, and many daimyo during this Warring States period set out to enrich themselves by engaging in trade with other countries while oppressing the Buddhist forces at home. At the beginning, Christianity was referred to as 'Tenjiku religion (a religion from afar)', or 'Kirishitan Buddhism teaching'. It is important to note that at the beginning Christianity was considered to be a sect of Buddhism.

Heated discussions were held between the missionaries and Japanese, particularly monks. In their discussions, the differences between Christianity and Buddhism were addressed. A question from the Japanese side concentrated on the Creation by God. 'Why did an almighty god allow the existence of wickedness?' 'Is it too harsh that the punishment in hell continues for ever?' These primitive questions focus on the fundamental differences between the two religions. Quite simply, it is the difference between Buddhism that denies the presence of an absolute being, and Christianity based on God as the absolute being.

In the sixth month of 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued his edict, '*Bateren Tsuihō-rei* 伴天連追放令' (Edict of Expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries) expelling all Jesuit missionaries who held the position of priest and above. He ordered them to leave Japan within twenty days. He learned that Nagasaki had become a territory of the Christian Church, and was afraid that Japan would be colonized by Christianity. The Edo shogunate continued this policy of prohibiting Christianity and, in 1612, issued the 'prohibition decree'.

Notes

1 See Kenji Matsuo, *Chūsei no Zen to Ritsu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunkan, 2003).

2 Concerning Godaigo and Monkan, see Yoshihiko Amino, *Igyō no Ōken* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986).

[3] See Aishin Imaeda, *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1970), Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains; The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 85 (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981), Joseph D. Parker, *Contested Orthodoxies in Five Mountains Zen Buddhism*, George J. Tanabe, Jr. (ed.), *Religions of Japan In Practice*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). Kenji Matsuo, *Chūsei no Zen to Ritsu.*
[4] See Zennosuke Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi Chūsei*, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten). Mika Nishiyama, *Bukeseiken to Zenshū* (Tokyo: Kasamashoin, 2004).
[5] Genshō Takenuki (ed.), *Zusetsu Nihon no Bukkyō no Rekishi Muromachi jidai* (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Company,1996),Tamaki Nakamoto, *Ikkyu Sojun no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kasamashoin, 1998).
[6] Eiichi Terao and Ghōon Kitamura (eds), *Hankotsu no Dōshi Nisshin Nichiō* (Tokyo:Yoshikwakō bunkan, 2004).
[7] Mark l. Blum and Shin'ya Yasutomi (eds), *Rennyo and the Roots of Modern Japanese Buddhism* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[8] For more information on this 1000-monk service, see Masayoshi Kawachi, *Chūsei Kyōto no Minshū to Shakai* (Tokyo: Shibunkaku, 2000).

CHAPTER 14

BUDDHISTS IN THE EDO ERA – 'OFFICIAL MONKS' OF THE EDO SHOGUNATE



IN THE NINTH MONTH OF 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616) was the victor in the battle of Sekigahara (in Gifu prefecture) leading the Eastern troops of 90,000 against the 80,000 Western troops led by Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成 (1560–1600), and in the second month of 1603, he was appointed 'generalissimo' or shogun (for the subjugation of barbarians). This marked the beginning of the Edo era. The establishment of the Edo shogunate itself was an epoch-making event in Japan's political history.[1] It also exerted a decisive influence on the Buddhist community because it was the case, as we have seen, that politics and religions were not clearly separated at that time. During the Edo period, Buddhism was nationalized through the institutionalization of both the Religious Inquisition System and the *danka* system (family membership to a temple). Monks served as census registrars, or 'official monks' for the shogunate.

Until a few decades ago, the general view was that monks in the Edo period worked within the *danka* system and engaged only in funerals as their main service or contribution to the community (funerary Buddhism), but also that they were corrupt and did little to look after the wider needs of the community. However, recently, the Edo period is looked upon as the time when the various Buddhist sects which developed during the Kamakura period really took root throughout Japan as temples of each sect were built in villages across the country, and as all households were registered, in principle at least, as Buddhists.[2]

Temple control policies in the early Edo era

After winning the battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu stood at the top of the warrior class and instigated a policy to bring under his control all the Buddhist temple forces that had been challenging the warrior forces during the medieval period, and accordingly proclaimed the Temple Control Ordinances (*ji-in shohatto* 寺院諸法度). Beginning with the 'Kōyasan Temple Control Ordinance' issued in the fifth month of 1601, the ordinances were sent to influential temples one by one until the seventh month of 1615. It should be noted that these temples became the head temples of the respective Buddhist sects.

The content of the ordinances differed from one temple to another. The common points were the revocation of a temple's right to deny entry to their premises by local military commissioners (*shugo*), and the redefinition of temples as teaching institutions. Amongst other things, the ordinances made provision for learned monks to be assigned to historic temples, and that monks should devote themselves to studying and promoting Buddhism. Today, these things may appear normal for religious bodies. However, the fact is that at this time Enryakuji, Kōfukuji, Kōyasan and other temples supported large groups of armed monks. It should be no surprise, therefore, that Tokugawa Ieyasu attempted to disarm them, direct them to engage only in Buddhist learning and teaching, and at the same time place them under the control of the shogunate. Furthermore, as each individual ordinance was given a specific name, such as the 'Shingon-Sect Control Ordinance', the shogunate's objective was to bring about a closer relationship between the head temple and branch temples of each sect.

The policies of the Edo shogunate helped to restructure the Buddhist sects, as well as establish the Shingon, Jōdo and Nichiren sects, which have continued to the present day. Sūden 崇伝 (1569–1633) and Tenkai 天海 (1536?–1643) were the main players who supported the new temple policies in the early Edo era.

Sūden and Tenkai: political monks of the shogunate

Sūden's full name was Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝,[3] but he was also called Konchi-in Sūden or Denchōrō. He was born the second son of Isshiki Hidekatsu 一色秀勝 (n.d.) in Kii (present-day Wakayama) in 1569. Because his father died when he was a child, he entered Nanzenji in Kyoto where he studied Rinzai Zen Buddhism. Later, he served as a senior priest at Kenchōji in Kamakura and also at Nanzenji.

In 1608, he was invited by Tokugawa Ieyasu to his hometown in Sumpu (present-day Shizuoka) where he opened Konchi-in temple and lived there. After the death of Ieyasu, he moved to Edo (Tokyo). Having been trusted by Ieyasu, the shogunate made him responsible for policy-making regarding temple and diplomatic administration. He was even referred to as the 'Prime Minister in a Black Cloth'. When Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593–1615) reconstructed the Buddha image in Hōkōji, he had a dedication inscribed on the face of the bell. But Sūden complained that the inscriber had used the Chinese characters for the name of Ieyasu in a manner which would place a curse upon Ieyasu. It is known that Sūden's complaint triggered the Osaka-no-jin battles (sieges of Osaka Castle) in 1614 through which the Tokugawa side defeated the Toyotomi side.

Tenkai was given the name Jigen Daishi as his posthumous title. He was from Aizu (present-day Fukushima prefecture) but neither his birth year nor his family background was known. In 1590, he began to study Buddhism under Gōkai 豪海 (n.d.) at Kawagoe Kitain temple. He lived in Nankō-in within Hieizan Enryakuji in 1607. In the following year (or 1590), he had the honour of meeting Ieyasu, obtained his support, and made efforts to restore Enryakuji as well as to develop Nikkōsan (Tochigi).

When Ieyasu died, he confronted Sūden regarding Ieyasu's posthumous title. Sūden and his allies advocated the name *Daimyōjin* (Great gracious deity) while Tenkai advocated *Tōshōgongen* (Tōshō incarnation of the Bodhisattva). Finally, Tenkai's idea was accepted and the title of Tōshōgongen was granted to Ieyasu by the emperor. At the same time, Ieyasu's tomb was moved from Kunōsan (Shizuoka) to Nikkō. In addition, with the patronage of shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–51), Tenkai built Tōeizan Kan-eiji in Ueno, Edo, in 1625.

At Kan-eiji, Tenkai published *Issai-kyō*, the Complete Collection of 6,323 Buddhist Scriptures. The collections had been frequently published in the Korean peninsula, but in Japan, the Collection by Tenkai was the first of its kind. The work of publication continued for twelve years from 1637 to 1648, and Tenkai himself died five years before its completion.

Takuan Sōhō and the Shie *(Purple Cloth) Incident*

As we have seen, the Edo shogunate controlled temples and monks under the Temple Control Ordinances. In particular, the shogunate caused each sect to clearly establish the relationship between the head temples and branch temples, and had the head temple of each sect submit the book *Head and Branch Temples* in 1632 and 1633 in order to facilitate its management over temples. Not all monks, however, were obedient. Typical of the disobedient monks was Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573–1645) of the Rinzai Zen sect.

Takuan is well known as the mentor of Miyamoto Musashi 宮本武蔵 (1584–1645), as described in the novel *Miyamoto Musashi*, by Yoshikawa Eiji 吉川英治 (1892–1962) is popularly known as the monk who began making *takuan-zuke*, a pickled radish. However, neither episode is supported by accurate records. There is no reference to *Miyamoto Musashi* in historic documents about Takuan, and in *Gorin-no-sho*, which is assumed to have been written by Musashi himself, Musashi says that it was when he was about fifty years old that he gained true insight into the tactics of fighting not through learning from others but through his daily training.

It is considered that the name *takuan-zuk*e for radish pickles was given by shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu. When Iemitsu visited Edo Tōkaiji, which was opened by Takuan, radish pickles were served. As they were so delicious, the shogun asked a temple monk what the pickles were called. The temple monk replied 'We call them *takuan-zuke*', so Iemitsu gave this name to the pickles. What kind of monk was Takuan?

Takuan was a common name at the time; his Buddhist name was Sōhō. He was born on the first day of the twelfth month of 1573 to the Akiba family in Izushi in Tajima province (present-

day Izushi in Hyōgo prefecture). His father, Tsunanori 綱典 (n.d.) was a retainer and his mother came from the Makita family. His family belonged to the warrior class, but he entered Shōnenji of the Jōdo sect in Izushi at the age of ten and began his career as a trainee. At the age of fourteen, he converted to Zen Buddhism, and began to study Zen Buddhism under Kumpo 董甫 (d.1601) at Sukyōji in the same locality.

In 1594, when he was twenty-two years old, he followed his mentor Kumpo who moved to Daitokuji in Kyōto, where he continued his training in Zen. After Kumpo died in 1601, he studied under Ittō 一凍 (1539–1612), the 127th senior priest of Daitokuji, and in 1604, at the age of thirty-three, he was given a certificate as having achieved enlightenment by Ittō and was recognized as a fully qualified monk. In 1609, he was appointed the 154th senior priest of the temple.

Daitokuji is a Rinzai-sect temple that was begun by Sōhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282–1337) who built a hermitage in the temple premises with the religious patronage of Akamatsu Norimura 赤松則村 (1277–1350). Later, the temple was patronized by emperors Hanazono 花園天皇 (1297–1348) and Go-Daigo, and became a temple to pray for imperial wishes. In 1333, the temple was ranked as ‘one of the temples classified as *Gozan*’. The temple was once devastated during the Ōnin and Bunmei wars, but Ikkyū Sōjun restored it. After it was restored, as Murata Jukō 村田珠光 (1423–1502) and other tea masters attended Zen services, the relationship between the temple and the tea masters strengthened. During the Warring States period, the number of devotees grew, and included Asakura Norikage 朝倉教景 (1474–1555) and other daimyōs. In 1582, Toyotomi Hideyoshi conducted the funeral for Oda Nobunaga at Daitokuji, and built Sōken-in within the Daitokuji precincts. An important aspect was that this temple was under the authority of the court, and outside the control of the shogunate. Senior priests of Daitokuji were granted a purple cloth by the emperor.

However, in l613, the shogunate promulgated the ‘Prohibition of the Purple Cloth from the Emperor’ to Daitokuji and Myōshinji and five other temples designated as temples to pray for imperial wishes. This ordinance required them to notify the shogunate before the appointment of their senior priest when

previously they were required to notify the emperor. It was one way the shogunate used to limit the power of the emperor over the temples he patronized.

Furthermore, in 1615, the Tokugawa shogunate defeated Toyotomi Hideyori (son of Hideyoshi) in the summer campaign of the siege of Osaka Castle, and promulgated the Laws of Military Houses (Codes of Conduct of Military Houses), the Laws governing the Imperial Court and Nobility, together with the Laws governing the Head Temples of the Various Buddhist Sects, in order to strengthen its control over all military, court and religious organizations. As part of this policy, the shogunate issued the Law governing Daitokuji.

The five-article law ordered that to become the head priest of Daitokuji, monks should undergo thirty years of training, complete 1,700 study tasks to attain enlightenment and go through training under a number of mentors. In defiance of the attempted increased control by the shogunate, Takuan and his colleagues submitted their recommendation for the head-priest-appointee directly to the emperor, who appointed him to the position. In opposition to this, in 1628, the shogunate forcibly ordered the temple to observe the law.

Instead of following the order, however, Takuan and others submitted a letter of protest to the shogunate. They refuted the logic of attaining enlightenment simply on account of the length of training or the number of tasks completed. However, the submission of the protest itself provoked the shogunate's displeasure. In the following year, Takuan and others were exiled to Dewa Kaminoyama (present-day Kaminoyama, Yamagata prefecture). This order by the shogunate clearly violated the power of the emperor, and the then emperor Go-Mizuo 後水尾天皇 (1596–1680), in protest, abdicated the throne.

This was called the 'purple cloth' incident. As a result, Takuan's reputation grew all the more, as he showed a strong nerve in challenging the shogunate. In 1632, when he was released from exile, he was greatly respected by Tokugawa Iemitsu. As a token of his admiration, Iemitsu gave him Tōkaiji in Shinagawa in Edo (Tokyo).

Finally, let us consider the distinguishing feature of Takuan's Zen Buddhism. Takuan is known as a mentor of Yagyū Munenori

柳生宗矩 (1571–1646), a master swordsman. As such, Takuan could be perceived as a successful theorist in swordsmanship.

Tokugawa Iemitsu learned fencing from Munenori, who conferred on Iemitsu the status of master. As he could not reach the level of his instructor in manipulating the sword freely, Iemitsu once asked Munenori about the mysteries of his fencing. While stating that there was nothing more to teach a person on whom he conferred full mastership, Munenori mentioned his conversation with the Zen monk Takuan, and replied that he devised ways to train himself until he attained the state of freedom to manipulate his sword. Takuan showed him the principle of '*Kannon tsushin shūgan*' in which *Kannon Bosatsu* (Goddess of Mercy, *Avalokitesvara)* transformed itself in various figures in order to conduct its salvation activities for people depending on an individual's particular sufferings. Takuan likened the free and flexible activities of the Bodhisattva Kannon to the movement of a swordsman whose whole body acted like his hands and eyes. From this episode, it is understood that Takuan explained the world of Zen Buddhism to warriors by taking examples from the art of fencing.

We could say that Takuan provided warriors with the concept of Zen Buddhism as the theoretical background of swordsmanship to be used as one approach to train themselves for life instead of just gaining the skill of swordfighting. Because of this, the myth might have been created whereby Takuan was a mentor to Miyamoto Musashi.

Religious Inquisition Book and danka *system*

An incident occurred during the period from the tenth month of 1635 to the third month of 1638 that exerted decisive impact on the religious policies of the shogunate. The incident in question was the Shimabara Rebellion. Peasants in the Shimabara peninsula in Hizen province (present-day Nagasaki prefecture) and on the Amakusa island in Higo province (present-day Kumamoto prefecture) united with Christian followers in the region in an uprising with Amakusa Shirō Tokisada 天草四郎時貞 (1623?–38) as their head.

This particular area was highly Christianized, and conse-

quently generated considerable dissatisfaction towards the shogunate's anti-Christian policy. As the administration by Lord Matsukura Katsuie 松倉勝家 (1597–1638) of Shimabara castle was harshly overtaxing his people, peasants in Shimabara rose against their lord Matsukura and defeated the troops of the Matsukura clan. Peasants on Amakusa island then joined the riot. In response, the shogunate mobilized some 124,000 men, and spent 38,000 *ryō* to suppress the revolt. Following the suppression, the shogunate in Nagasaki displayed outside Hara castle the heads of the four leaders, as well as the heads of 14,000 Christians killed in the battle.

After this rebellion, a sense of crisis impacted on the shogunate over the linkage between Christians and peasant uprisings, and consequently caused it to strengthen its anti-Christian policy. At the same time, it established its own religious inquisition and *danka* systems. The religious inquisition system was designed to expose Christians and was applied nationally in 1635. In 1640, the shogunate instituted the Religious Inquisitor, and Inspector General Inoue Masashige 井上政重 (1585–1661) was assigned to this position while serving as the Inspector General. People who were exposed as Christians across the country were sent to Inoue who passed judgement on each suspect individually. After Inoue, the work of Religious Inquisitor was assigned to the Inspector General. In 1664–65 an officer in charge of religious inquisition was nominated in each clan.

The Religious Inquisition Book was used as a way of certifying that an individual was not a Christian. Initially, Buddhist temple monks made the entries. Around 1664–65, however, responsibility for the entries was transferred to leading farmers (village heads), and the book was renamed the Religious Inquisition Census Register, which also served as the original census register.

In order to certify that one was not Christian, one (in the name of one's household) had to belong to a particular temple (called *danna-dera*) and present the certificate (*terauke*) issued by the temple. In return, member households had to make monetary contributions to repair or build the temple, invite only the monks of the *danna* temple for the household's Buddhist services and build one's family grave within the temple premises.

The *danka* and religious inquisition systems[4] were strength-

ened in association with the stricter prohibition of the Christian faith. Buddhist monks became, as it were, the government officers or 'official monks' of the Edo shogunate, with Buddhism becoming a kind of national religion.

Once they became officers of the shogunate, monks relied on the *danka* system to promote their ministry, and thus made little effort to increase their followers. It cannot be denied that, as a result, they became 'masters of the funeral ceremony' mostly engaged in funeral and memorial services for the deceased. As a result, a clear picture evolved of Japanese Buddhist monks being engaged principally in funeral services.

Nichiō of the Fuju Fuse subsect

Buddhism became the national religion in the Edo period, but the monks of the Fuju 不受 Fuse 不施 subsect of the Nichiren sect, and Ikkō-shū in the Satsuma clan were suppressed. So let us now consider Nichiō of the Fuju Fuse subsect.

As discussed above, Nichiō[5] (1565–1630) refused to attend the intersectional one-thousand-monk memorial service organized by Toyotomi Hideyoshi at Hōkōji. The Fuju Fuse subsect was founded by Nichiō under the umbrella of the Nichiren sect. At the age of ten, Nichiō became a disciple of Nitten at Myōkakuji in Kyoto, and became its abbot in 1592. A brief outline of his philosophy is given below:

'Fuju Fuse' literally means 'not to receive, not to give offerings' from and to people who do not have faith in the *Lotus Sutra*. This principle should be applied to anyone regardless of rank, be it the emperor or shogun. This was of prime doctrinal importance and must be observed regardless of the risk to life.

Given this position, Nichiō turned down the invitation from Toyotomi Hideyoshi to attend the service. On the contrary, he wrote a 'Remonstrative letter from the Hokke sect' in which he refuted Hideyoshi's religious policy and stated that if Hideyoshi supported the spread of the *Lotus Sutra* he would be guaranteed a long life. In the fifth month of 1600, however, because of his continuing support of the principle of 'neither to receive nor give offerings from non-*Lotus Sutra* believers', he was ordered to be exiled on Tsushima Island and stayed there until 1612.

In the fourth month of 1669, the Edo shogunate ordered that no certificate to identify individuals as being Buddhists should be issued by any temple which accepted the followers of the Fuju Fuse subsect. It meant that at the time of religious inquisition, the followers of the subsect were treated as non-Buddhists – just like Christians. In this way, the Fuju Fuse subsect was suppressed. But for its believers, their faith could not be suppressed by external power, and the subsect's followers, like the Christians, continued their belief in secret.

Ingen, the founder of the Ōbakushū Zen sect

Zen Buddhism in Japan is grouped into three main sects, namely, Rinzai, Sōtō and Ōbaku. The Ōbaku sect was introduced from China by Yinyan Longji (J.: Ingen Ryūki 隠元隆琦, 1592–1673). Ingen was a monk who was active at the end of the Ming dynasty and arrived in Japan in the seventh month of 1654 after the fall of the Ming dynasty, when he was already sixty-three years old. He introduced Zen Buddhism and founded the Ōbaku sect with the Ōbakusan Mampukuji in Uji, Kyoto, as its head temple. He is also known as a monk who brought the kidney bean from China, which has been named Ingen-*mame*, and *Fucha* cuisine, a vegetarian cuisine rich in oil.

Ingen was born in Fuquing in Fujian province 福州府福清県 in southern China in 1592, presumably in the Lin family. His father's occupation is not known. In the second month of 1620, at the age of twenty-nine, he became a monk under Kangen 鑑源 (n.d.) at Mt Huangbo Wanfusi temple (its Japanese pronunciation is 'Ōbakusan Mampukuji'). He went on to study Buddhist sutras at various temples, and at the age of thirty-four, he is said to have attained enlightenment. He came to Japan at the request of a monk at Kōfukuji in Nagasaki. The distinctive character of Ingen's Zen Buddhism was to be found, unlike pure Zen, in its mixture of the rituals of Esoteric Buddhism and the Jōdo doctrines. Huangbo Zen was the last Zen-style Buddhism to be introduced from China to Japan.

Refuters of Buddhism

The Edo shogunate not only protected Buddhism but also placed importance on Confucianism, in particular the teachings of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), as its basic philosophy for its politics and governance. However, Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561–1619) and other scholars of the teachings of Zhu Xi, expressed strong criticisms against Buddhism. Criticisms against Buddhism were also made by scholars in Japanese classics, such as Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) and Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843). Furthermore, in the eighteenth century, criticism against Buddhism came to be made from a scientific point of view, most notably by Tominaga Nakamoto 富永仲基 (1715–46), and Yamagata Banto 山片蟠桃 (1748–1821). Thus, paradoxically, since these criticisms illustrate Japanese Buddhism during the Edo period, the views of Motoori Norigana and Tominaga Nakamoto need be explained.

Motoori Norinaga was born in 1730 in Matsusaka in Ise province (present-day Mie prefecture), and studied Confucianism and Chinese medicine in Kyoto. While practising medicine at his clinic, he studied Japanese classics and firmly established *kokugaku* (National Learning) as an academic discipline. *Kokugaku* comprises a mixture of myths, lyrics, tales and other classic literary writings in the indigenous Japanese script. For *kokugaku* scholars, the study in classics itself was viewed as a scholarly discipline. In other words, they considered the basis on which people should live in the world as depicted in the Japanese classics, and explained how the world could provide people with guidelines as to how life should be lived. The *Kokugaku* positively accepted that the life of any one individual person was both special and unique, but had to be lived within defined limits.

In contrast, Buddhism saw an individual's life as the expression of 'earthly desires' and considered that people could attain their self-realization by rising above those desires or being delivered from them. Norinaga advocated that uncontrollable, profound or distressing emotions such as love and sorrow towards the death of a beloved person were the essential elements of life.

Tominaga Nakamoto was born to a merchant's family in Osaka, and became a scholar in Confucianism. Unfortunately, he died early at the age of thirty-two. Recently, he has been reap-

praised as a genius in the history of Japanese philosophies. He studied Confucianism under Miyake Sekian 三宅石庵 (1665–1730), but when he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, he criticized Confucianism from the viewpoint of historical development. For this, he was expelled from Miyake Sekian. His most important work was *Shutsujō Gōgo* 出定後語 *(Buddha's Comments after his Meditation)*, in which he argued that all the Mahayana Buddhist sutras that were recognized and used in Japan were not what Śākyamuni had preached (this is called the View of Mahayana not being Śākyamuni 's preaching).

Among the Buddhist sutras amounting to some 84,000 volumes, there are many contradictory descriptions. In the past, scholars explained how Śākyamuni preached different principles on different occasions to different audiences. This explanation is based on the view that the Buddhist sutras were based on entirely on what Śākyamuni preached. Nakamoto believed that aspects of the new thinking of later ages would be added to ideas of previous ages (later accretions).

By applying this principle, he attempted to understand the evolution of the history of philosophy scientifically, and analysed Buddhist sutras. He insisted that it was wrong to consider all the Buddhist sutras to be the preaching of Śākyamuni. He said that new sutras had been created one after another by accreting new thoughts drawing on the preaching of Śākyamuni.

His idea is excellent and provides contemporary Buddhism studies with an effective conceptual framework. His view of Mahayana not being Śākyamuni's preaching provoked a question concerning the existence of Japanese Buddhism itself.

Nevertheless, neither scholars of the teachings of Zhu Xi nor scholars of National Learning, not to mention Tominaga Nakamoto, could present logical explanations regarding death and the rituals for funeral services, which are important events in everybody's life, comparable to Buddhist explanations and rituals. This is the historical background for explaining why Buddhist forces have almost totally monopolized funeral services up to the present, despite the fact that Buddhism came under criticism during the Edo era which led to the advent of the anti-Buddhist movement in the Meiji era resulting in the destruction of Buddhist temples.

Development of research and education

But the Buddhist sects were not totally corrupted as has been widely thought. Because academic learning was encouraged by the Temple Control Ordinances, each sect developed an institute or school in the names of *danrin, dangisho, gakuryō,* where each sect was engaged in education and research, in particular, studies relating to the founder and the annotation of the sutras. Famous among such schools were the Jōdo sect's 'Kantō eighteen *danrin*'at Zōjōji, the Tendai sect's 'Kan-eiji *gakuryō*', the Jōdo shin sect's 'Nishihonganji *gakurin*' and 'Higashi Honganji's *gakuryō*', the Jisū sect's 'Fujisawa Shōjōkōji *gakuryō*', and the Nichiren sect's 'Kantō eight *danrin*', including 'Iidaka *danrin*'. These institutions played a similar role at the universities established by the respective sects.

One of the fruits of the promotion of education and research during the Edo period was the publication of the Complete Collection of Buddhist Sutras of the 1681 Tetsugen version, compiled by Tetsugen Dōkō 鉄眼道光 (1630–82) who was a disciple of Ingen.

Another notable achievement was the Sanskrit studies of Ji-un Onkō 慈雲飲光 (1718–1805). Ji-un was a Shingon sect monk who advocated the restoration of the precepts. His precepts were called the Right Principles, meaning that they are based on the genuine principles preached by Śākyamuni. He preached the Ten Wrongs to the common people telling them that they should observe moral codes in secular life. These 'wrongs' include the following: Don't Kill, Don't Commit Adultery, Don't Steal, Don't Lie, Don't Manipulate Words to Cover Facts, Don't Speak Ill of Others, Don't Be Double-Tongued, Don't Be Greedy, Don't Bear Anger and a Grudge towards Others, and Don't Have a Wrong View against the Cause-Effect Principle. The reason why Ji-un studied Sanskrit was that he wanted to understand the correct interpretation of the principles of Śākyamuni as conveyed in India.

What is also important is that modern research into the author of *Tannishō* (Lamenting the Deviation) has proved to be highly significant. It is now accepted that this book was written by Yuien, a disciple of Shinran, based on what Shinran had said. This fact was fully endorsed by the research of Myōonin Ryōshō

妙音院了祥 (1788–1842) who published *Tannishō Kikigaki* (Transcription of what was said about *Tannishō*) in 1842.

There was, however, a critical problem in the Buddhism studies by respective orders. The contents of their sutras and the words of their founders were considered to be the truth (free of error), and consequently there was no space for critical views to be expressed. This attitude is termed the notion of 'Founders being free from errors', and is an extremely important point. While promoting research studies on Buddhism, the shogunate prohibited inter-sect and intra-sect debate on new doctrines or any expression of opposition for fear of causing confusion in the Buddhist community. Without freedom of speech and criticism, no development of any significance could be expected to occur in scholarly work.

Suzuki Shōsan and the common people

With the efforts made by Buddhists in the Edo era who genuinely accepted criticism, despite criticism being made by non-Buddhists and the limitations enforced on Buddhist studies by the sects, Buddhism took root in the minds of the Japanese as their spiritual support. In other words, Buddhism came to provide the source of secular ethics. Buddhism, that taught people to transcend this world, came to provide the guidelines for behaviour and way of life. It was, in fact, Suzuki Shōsan 鈴木正三 (1579–1655) who most actively promoted this belief.

Suzuki Shōsan was born to a warrior's family in Mikawa (present-day Aichi) in 1579. He took to the field in the battle of Sekigahara in 1600 and reportedly distinguished himself as a military man at the time of the Sieges of Osaka Castle in 1614. In 1615, he was awarded a 200-*koku* (47.65 US gallons) rice stipend in Mikawa Kamogun. Later, he went to Sumpu (present-day Shizuoka) to serve Ieyasu, and went to Edo (Tokyo) after Ieyasu's death to serve his successor Hidetada 秀忠 (1579–1632). In 1620, at the age of forty-two, he became a monk. He opened Onshinji in Mikawa Nishi Kamogun and began full-scale activities as a monk of the Sōtō sect.

In 1641, when his younger brother Suzuki Shigenari 鈴木重成 (1588–1653) was despatched to Higo Amakusa as the governor

after the riot in Shimabara, Shōsan followed him to Amakusa. He was engaged in promoting Buddhism while criticizing Christianity. He returned to Edo three years later.

In his main moral essay *Banmin Tokuyō*, (Right Action for All, published in 1661), he taught that to perform due occupational responsibility of each of the four classes of warriors, farmers, artisans and tradesmen was the correct Buddhist way. He thereby attempted to establish Buddhist-oriented secular morals. He preached, for example, 'Farming is a Buddhist act. However, if you are engaged in misguided conduct, farming will become a discreditable occupation. But if you have a firm belief in Buddhism, then you are doing an act of bodhisattva', or 'Born to become a farmer means that you are serving to feed the world'.

Suzuki Shōsan's idea that the pursuit of an occupation could be a Buddhist act, and to consider one's occupation could be a vocation, clearly echoes the beliefs of Calvin (1509–64) and other Protestant thinkers, although Suzuki placed priority on secular power. It may well be that because this belief had prevailed in the Edo era that the modernization process in Japan after the Meiji Restoration went as smoothly as it did.

Bankei Eitaku and Hakuin Ekaku

In addition to Suzuki Shōsan, Bankei Eitaku 盤珪永琢 (1622–93) and Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1685–1768) made efforts to communicate with the public using simple language and *hiragana* characters (phonetic letters).

Bankei was from Harima province (present-day Hyōgo) and began monastic life at the age of seventeen at Zuiōji at Akō in Harima. After training at several places, he took to preaching and the pursuit of good deeds based at Ryūmonji in Hamada in Harima (present-day Himeji city). In 1672, he was appointed head monk at Myōshinji in Kyōto. Bankei is known as the advocate of '*fushōzen* 不生禅'. He said that every person had an innate 'unborn and undying' Buddha mind, and that daily life as a whole was Zen practice.

Hakuin is considered to be the restorer of the Rinzai sect during the Edo era and it is said that almost all Rinzai sect teachings in present-day Japan follow his teachings. Hakuin was born

in Ukishimahara in Suruga province (present-day Numazu city in Shizuoka), and, in 1699, became a monk at the age of fifteen in his local temple of Shōinji under Tanrei Soden 単嶺祖伝 (d.1701); he was given the name Ekaku. In 1704, he underwent Zen training under Maō 馬翁 (n.d.) at Zuiunji in Mino (present-day Gifu), Shōtetsu 性徹 (n.d.) at Eigenji in Echigo Takada (present-day Takada city, Niigata), and Etan 慧端 (n.d.) in IIyama in Shinano (present-day Nagano), and attained enlightenment. He returned to Shōinji in 1708, but became sick upon realizing the gap between the state of enlightenment and the reality in life. He visited Hakuyūshi 白幽子 (n.d.) at Shirakawa in Kyoto, mastered the meditation training method to concentrate and cause oneself to look at one's inner self, and recovered his health. Later, in 1718, he was appointed as the top trainee monk (the rank next to the head monk) of Myōshinji in Kyōto. But he did not want to stay at the temple as a high-ranking monk, and so, while keeping his rank as it was, he continued his missionary work based at Shōinji while lecturing about *Hekigan-roku* and *Rinzai-roku* (records of tasks by Zen trainee monks, interpretations and lessons) at different places.

Hakuin considered himself to be an authentic successor of Rinzai Zen Buddhism. While imposing the strict Zen training on himself and other monks, he attempted to use plain language and metaphors to popularize the Rinzai Zen teachings among the common people. *Orategama* (popular version of Hakuin Zen in plain language) and *Zazen Wasan* (Japanese translation of Buddhist hymns) are noted here as his achievements. The following is an example of a 'Buddhist hymn' that Hakusan created to explain his thinking:

> Common people are innately Buddha
> Just as water and ice.
> Ice does not exist without water
> Buddha does not exist apart from common people.
> It is meaningless for one to pursue something far in the distance without realizing that common people are close to him.
> It is as if crying thirsty while staying in the water.
> Or it is like a child born to a rich family straying into a hovel used by poor people.

Hakuin taught that every person has the capability of becoming Buddha, and this concept became commonly accepted in all Buddhist teachings in Japan after the era of Kamakura New Buddhism. Saichō likened the relationship between people and the mind of Buddha that exists inside their mind (*sattva*) with the relationship between water and ice, and attempted to help people realize the presence of their Buddha mind in their own minds. He then told people the way to become aware of one's own Buddha mind and to be enlightened is through meditation.

While in *Zazen Wasan*, Hakuin wrote about Zen as follows:

> No over-praising of the Zen teachings of Mahayana Buddhism is allowed. Good conduct such as making donations, observing the precepts, reciting *nembutsu* prayers, making confessions and going through training are all incorporated in Zen.

In this way, Hakuin explained his thinking through the use of simple expressions in order to encourage people to participate in Zen meditation because Zen contains a wide variety of good conduct choices.

Pilgrimages in Shikoku and other places

Buddhism, syncretized with Shintōism, became the national religion in the Edo era, and stable peaceful times were sustained under the rule of the Edo shogunate. These benign conditions prompted not only monks but considerable numbers of the general public to go on pilgrimages to the Ise Shintō Shrine and the Saigoku Holy Places (Kyoto and further west); a Shikoku pilgrimage following the sacred places of Kūkai.

It was not necessarily through religious motivation that people joined the pilgrim groups. In those days, the freedom of mobility was restricted, but it was relatively easy to obtain permission for travelling for the purpose of religious visits. Pilgrimages to these religious centres, therefore, became a fashionable option for satisfying people's desire for travel.

The pilgrimage routes were often developed by monks who also encouraged followers to join pilgrim groups. As an example of a pilgrimage, let us look at the development of Shikoku's

eighty-eight-temple pilgrimage route. This is still popular today, and over 100,000 people take part annually. During the Edo era, pilgrimage by secular people began in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and peaked in the early ninteenth century. The Shikoku pilgrimage route begins at Ryōzenji 霊山寺 in Awa (present-day Tokushima) as the No. 1 amulet-issuing temple and ends at Ōkuboji 大窪寺 in Sanuki (present-day Kagawa), the No. 88 amulet-issuing temple. Little is known about why eighty-eight temples were chosen for the pilgrimage. Some say it comes from eighty-eight worldly desires, and others say it means a long life – celebrating one's eighty-eighth birthday.

It is not known either when the eighty-eight temples from No. 1 to No. 88 were fixed. What is clear is that the route was improved for the benefit of pilgrims by a *Kōya-hijiri* named Shin-nen 真念 (d.1693). A *Kōya-hijiri* is a low-ranking semi-clerical and semi-lay monk who belonged to Kōyasan temple. Saigyō 西行 (1118–90) was also one of them. They encouraged people to recite *nembutsu*, to visit Kōyasan temple for worship, lay ashes to rest in the temple, and asked for donations.

Shin-nen was living in Terajima, at the edge of the port of Osaka. He had strong faith in Kūkai, and went through the pilgrimage route more than twenty times in a period of fifty years. While begging wearing the same clothes, he installed guideposts along the route. In 1687, based on his experience in walking the route, he published a guidebook entitled, *Shikoku Henro Michi Shirube*. In this book, the number of amulet-issuing temples is eighty-eight and the numbering is identical to what it is today. From No. 1 Ryōzenji to No. 88 Ōkuboji, the temples are numbered in the order of Awa, Tosa, Iyo and Sanuki provinces. Not surprisingly, Shin-nen's guidebook had a huge influence on the popularity of the Shikoku pilgrimage route.

In addition, in 1762, the illustrated guidebook *Shikoku Henrei Ezu* based on Shin-nen's guidebook was published. Because this guidebook was authorized by Kōhan (d.1768), a former temple administrator, some believe that the eighty-eight-temple pilgrimage route was established with this authorization.

Development of Shugendō in the Edo era

Consideration should be also given to Shugendō activities as part of Buddhist activities in the Edo era. In the middle ages, Shugendō was established in two schools – the Honzan school based on Shōgoin in Kyoto supported by Onjōji, and the Tōzan school based in Dagoji. In the Edo era, Shugendō all over the country were in principle required to affiliate themselves with either the Honzan or Tōzan schools. It became fashionable among farmers to go through mountain training during the off-farming season. In remote farming villages where there were no medical personnel, Shugendō monks served as faith healers. Common people in Edo (Tokyo) organized themselves into mutual help associations such as Ōyama-kō and Fuji-kō, and climbed holy mountains wearing a mountaineering monk's clothing. It was part of their leisure-time pleasure.

Edo culture and Buddhism

As regards Confucianism, the most prevalent belief system in the Edo era, the doctrines of Zhu Xi were certainly widely known. But the Zhu Xi doctrines contained strong elements of governance and politics, and so had limited influence.

Many monks in the Edo era were 'official monks' of the Edo shogunate, and were content with the *danka* system and their role in providing funeral services (funerary Buddhism). However, there were monks who were critical about the way ordinary monks were and who tried to spread Buddhism among the common people and establish secular morality with a Buddhist orientation. They were Suzuki Shōsan and Hakuin Ekaku.

As a result, Buddhism in the Edo era established its status as the national religion and exerted influence on various aspects of pre-modern life. It served as a source of culture, not least the entertainment industry that grew up in the Edo era. For example, as part of *rakugo*, comic story-telling (monologue), there is a witty dialogue 'What would you liken to xxxx?' – 'I will liken it to yyyy,' 'What is a common point of both?' ' – zzzz.' This style of conversation came from the *mondō* of Zen. Another style of story-telling called *kōdan* also has its origin in preaching Buddhism to common

people. It is considered that traditional oral literature in general originated in the preaching of sutras and Buddha's teachings to common people. In the Edo era, traditional oral literature left the confines of Buddhism and became an independent art form in its own right. In this sense, Buddhism was the source of the Edo era culture.

Notes

[1] See Masahide Bitō, *Edojidai to wa nani ka* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992).
[2] Fumio Tamamuro, *Nihon Bukkyō Shi Kinsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō bunkan, 1987).
[3] Fumio Tamamuro (ed.), *Seikaino Dōja Tenkai Sūden* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō bunkan, 2004).
[4] Naohide Hōzawa, *Bakufu kenryoku to Jidan seido* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō bunkan, 2004).
[5] Eiichi Terao and Gyōon Kitamura (ed.), *Hankotsu no Dōshi Nisshin Nichiō* (Tokyo: Yoshikwakō bunkan, 2004).

CHAPTER 15

MODERN TIMES AND JAPANESE BUDDHISM



The Meiji Restoration and Buddhist monks

THE MEIJI RESTORATION of 1868 was not only a revolutionary event in political history but also for the Buddhist community.[1] The world of thought in the Edo era was a time when Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintō co-existed and fused. The Meiji Restoration put an end to such an organized cohesion and coherence. During the Edo period, Buddhism had been protected by the shogunate, and was given a status similar to that of a national religion. Temples enjoyed a secure position under the religious inquisition and the *danka* (family membership to a temple) systems, and monks were treated simply as 'official' monks of the shogunate. However, the Meiji Restoration destroyed the shogunate system and the Meiji government promoted a policy to position Shintō as the national religion. In 1869, with a view to indoctrinating the nation, it restored the office of commissioners of the Shintō religion and placed it at the top of the government structure. In 1870, an Imperial edict was issued for the propagation of Daikyō 大教, or Great Teachings. Shintō was to be propagated in the name of Daikyō in an organized manner.

On the other hand, in the third month of 1868, the government increased the pressure on Buddhism by the decree of the separation of Shintō and Buddhism. Then, following the order in the first month of 1871 to forfeit the land bestowed on it by the shogunate, together with the abolition three months later of the Religious Inquisition and danka systems, monks were deprived

of their official status and became private monks who would have to gain their livelihoods through donations by danka members and followers. It was like reverting to the life of the founding monks of new Buddhist sects in Kamakura.

The decree separating Shintō and Buddhism delivered a huge blow to the Buddhist community and had a major impact on the later development of Buddhism in Japan right up to the present day. As we have seen, prior to the Meiji era, Shintō and Buddhism were syncretized and both shrines and temples co-existed within the same compound, where a Buddhist priest acted as the general manager of a shrine. Many Shintō shrines enshrined a Buddha image in their altars. The aim of the decree was to remove Buddhist influence from shrines, and to make shrines purely Shintō institutions.

Many monks were forced to leave their temples and become secular people because of the pressure from people agitated by scholars supporting the programme of National Learning and Shintō. People promoting the anti-Buddhist movement destroyed temples, Buddha images and sutras. Before the Meiji Restoration, Buddha images and other Buddhist instruments were placed within the Imperial Palace, but after the decree they were moved to other places. Funerals inside the Palace used to be conducted according to Buddhist rites, but after the Restoration, funerals came to conducted as Shintō-style rites. At this point, Buddhist services that had been practised for more than ten centuries were all abolished.

Many precious temples and Buddha images were destroyed by the anti-Buddhism movement. Even the five-storey pagoda of Kōfukuji in Nara, which is now a national treasure, was put up for sale for twenty-five yen (a quarter of a dollar). Reflecting on this, it seems hard for us to criticize the Taliban for destroying the Buddha images in Bamiyan in Afghanistan. The anti-Buddhism movement spread right across Japan. For example, 1,060 temples were destroyed in Satsuma clan territory (present-day Kagoshima prefecture), and 1,629 temples, which accounted for 99.6 per cent of the 1,635 temples, were deserted in the Toyama clan territory.

As discussed earlier, Japanese monks are permitted to marry, which is one of the characteristics specific to Japanese Buddhism.

This practice began with Shinran who made it public that he was married, and who approved of his fellow monks getting married. His reason for doing so was the fact that there were monks who were actually married. However, even though the monks of Shinran's sects and a few other sects were married, the majority of sects prohibited marriage as a matter of principle. In the fourth month of 1872, an ordinance was issued that allowed monks to marry (and eat meat as well), and so, not surprisingly, the number of sects that allowed monks to marry increased. This ordinance provided the opportunity to normalize marriage by monks as a practice specific to Japanese Buddhism.

Pressurized by foreign countries' demands for the abolition of the anti-Christian policy, the Meiji government lifted the prohibition on Christianity in 1873, and tacitly permitted its missionary work. For Buddhism, this meant that its strong rival was now officially recognized. In addition, Tenrikyō and other new religions were established one after another and the religious world became a competitive and opportunistic market-place. Buddhism came under severe pressure from other religious groups.

In the meantime, the Meiji government attempted to consolidate its foundations and promoted policies for the civilization and enlightenment of the nation, the advancement of industrial productivity, the increased wealth of the nation, and the strengthening of military power. At the same time, it revised its rapid nationalization of Shintō to the national edification policy embracing all religions in order to be prepared for Christian groups making inroads into Japan.

In 1871, the office of commissioners of the Shintō religion were demoted to be the Ministry of the Shintō Religion under the Cabinet, and in the following year, the name was changed to the Ministry of Edification. The Ministry laid down the 'three rules of teaching' as standards for the edification of people:

1) Promote the principle of revering gods and loving the country,
2) Explain natural laws and humanity,
3) Respect the Emperor as the supreme head of the nation, and obey the Emperor's orders.

The Ministry also established the Great Edification Centre in Tokyo as well as smaller such centres throughout the country. Buddhist monks who excelled both in number and competence in preaching were entrusted with the administration of the edification activities. With this, Buddhist monks found an opportunity to recover their lost position.

However, in 1875, four subsects of the Shin sects withdrew from the Great Edification Centre demanding the freedom of belief and the separation of politics and religion. This was followed by the disbandment of the Edification Centres, followed by the abolition of the Ministry of Edification in 1877. Thereafter, the Buddhist community began to recover its position following the blow dealt to it by the anti-Buddhism movement.

Not surprisingly, under such circumstances, some Buddhist monks and followers experienced a sense of crisis over Japanese Buddhism. Among them were Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919) and Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之 (1863–1903) who initiated Buddhist 'awakening' movements, and Murakami Senshō 村上専精 (1851–1929) and Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1873–1949) who were engaged in modern Buddhist studies, and Suzuki Daisetu 鈴木大拙 (1870–1966)[2] who set about spreading Japanese Buddhism overseas. These individuals could be described as the principal players of the Meiji Restoration in the Buddhist community. Accordingly, let us now consider the following: Inoue Enryō who attempted to bring about a deeper understanding of Buddhism in order to better respond to criticism from Christian and other religious organizations; Kiyozawa Manshi who struggled to establish Buddhism centred on faith; Murakami Senshō who attempted to establish scientific Buddhism studies; Suzuki Daisetu who made a great contribution in introducing Japanese Buddhism to other countries, and Miyazawa Kenji 宮沢賢治 (1896–1933) who spread Buddhism through his literary works.

Inoue Enryō: Protect the nation and love reason

Inoue Enryō is known as the founder of Tetsugakukan University, present-day Tōyō University, and also as 'Dr Ghost'

since it was he who explained spiritual phenomena logically without being distracted by superstition. He played an important role in reviving and modernizing Buddhism.

Inoue Enryō was born in the second month of 1858 in Echigo province (present-day Niigata) as the first son of the monk of Jikōji, which belonged to the Jōdo shin sect. ln 1874, he entered the Niigata School No. 1 Branch School (present-day prefectural Nagaoka Senior High School) at the age of sixteen. In 1877, after graduating from the high school, he progressed to the English Faculty of Niigata Teacher Training School. In April 1878, he was selected as a sponsored student by Higashi Honganji and went to Tokyo, and in September, at the age of twenty, he entered the recently established preparatory school of Tokyo University. In 1881, he went on to study philosophy in the Literature Faculty of Tokyo University and graduated in 1885.

Enryō considered that philosophy constituted the foundation of thinking, which was indispensable for enriching and strengthening the country. He believed in the importance of studying and spreading philosophy, and after graduating from Tokyo University, he devoted himself energetically to writing philosophical books and articles. In particular, he published the books *Shinri Konjin* (Golden Needle of Truth) and *Bukkyō Katsu Ron* (Theory of Reviving Buddhism) with a view to promoting the revival of Buddhism and its modernization against the difficult background of the mounting anti-Buddhism movement and the removal of the ban on Christianity.

He found the 'Creation' theory, among other theories in the Christian Bible, to be irrational. He also insisted that if Japan were to maintain its Oriental civilization and the spiritual independence of the nation, Buddhism would have to be restored. Given that he identified many defects in the situation of the then Buddhist community, he demanded that the state should intervene and rectify the situation. He considered that the truth of Buddhism contained both the Holy Path Division (teachings other than the Jōdo sect) and the Pure Land (Jōdo) Division. The former being a religion of wisdom, while the latter being a religion of sentiment, he advocated that the Buddhist doctrine had 'the golden means' as its base, the law of cause and effect as its principle and that it taught spiritual peace and enlightenment as

its practice. Enryō, who had studied Western philosophy, encapsulated this belief in the motto, 'Protect the nation and love reason', and used it to refute logically the anti-Buddhism movement as well as the criticisms of Buddhism by the Christian community, and in the process gave great encouragement to the Buddhist community.

Kiyozawa Manshi and his spiritualism

In Kiyozawa Manshi's short life (1863–1903) he devoted himself in the modernization and reform of the Ōtani subsect of the Jōdo shin sect (Higashi Honganji sect). He is a prominent figure in the modern history of the subsect noted, in particular, for the establishment of Ōtani University.

Manshi was born in 1863 as the first son to Tokunaga Naganori 徳永永則 (n.d.), his father and Taki (n.d.), his mother, a poor, low-ranking samurai family belonging to the Owari Tokugawa clan in Nagoya. He entered a temple at the age of sixteen, and after studying at the Higashi Honganji school, in 1882, he went on to Tokyo University where he studied philosophy under Ernest F. Fenollosa (1853–1908). In 1888, at the early age of twenty-five, he became the principal of a junior high school in Kyōto. In the same year, he entered the Kiyozawa family as an adopted son.

In 1895, because of tuberculosis, he resigned as the school principal and moved to Suma in Hyōgo prefecture for treatment through a change of air. As tuberculosis in those days was a fatal disease, he inevitably reflected on his death. Even so, in 1896, he attempted the reform of doctrinal education at Higashi Honganji, but failed to do so, and in 1900, he opened Kōkōdō 浩々洞 (a private seminary) in Tokyo. The following year, he became dean of Shinshū University that had moved to Sugamo in Tokyō, and published *Seishinkai* (The Spiritual World) to promote spiritualism. His personal spiritualism was focused on *Agonkyō* (the Agama), *Tan-ishō* (Collection of Shinran's (way of faith) teachings) as well as Epictetus's Discourses and pursued a faith-centred, introspective lifestyle.

In the period from the end of the 1890s to the 1900s when Manshi was actively working, Japan fought two wars, one against

Ching China (1894–95), and the other against Russia (1904–05), with the result that nationalism was exalted among the Japanese people. Manshi also took a stance on Japan-centrism. As a follower of the Jōdo shin sect, he tried to reform the organization, criticized prayer-centred Buddhism and advocated faith-centred Buddhism instead.

Manshi was frustrated in his attempts at organizational reform of the Higashi-Honganji subsect, so he struggled to modernize its Buddhism. His efforts, however, attracted sympathy among young monks and he successfully exerted some influence on the later developments in the education and organizational management of the Ōtani subsect. Of particular importance is that Manshi rediscovered *Tan-ishō*, by which Shinran was given recognition not only as the founder of the Jōdo shin sect but also as one of the leading thinkers of Japan.

Murakami Senshō and modern Sanskrit studies

During the Meiji era, new research approaches from the West were also introduced in Buddhism studies, and Buddhism studies based on Sanskrit documents were introduced. In the mid-Edo era, Ji-un Onkō undertook Sanskrit studies, although he was very much the exception. Buddhism studies meant mostly the study of the sutras translated into Chinese, and each sect studied the sutras of that sect.

During the Meiji era, Buddhism studies, beyond the studies of each sect, began with philological researches into Sanskrit and other documents. It was the beginning of formal, modern scientific Buddhism studies. Murakami Senshō advocated 'Mahayana is not Buddhism' and was one of the leading figures who established this discipline.

Born in 1851 in Tamba province (present-day Hyōgo), Murakami Senshō was the son of a monk of the Ōtani subsect of the Jōdo shin sect. He studied at the Higashi Honganji school, and in 1890, became the principal of the Ōtani School in Asakusa, Tokyo, and then, in 1917, a professor at Tokyo University.

In his books entitled *Bukkyō tōitsu ron* (Unification of (Hinayana and Mahayana) Buddhism), and *Daijō Bussetsu ron*

Hihan (Critiques on Mahayana Buddhism), Murakami sought the sources of the Buddhism of India and China. He criticized the fact that the received view on Śākyamuni and the contents of Mahayana sutras were too mystical and not based on historical facts. On the other hand, he recognized that Mahayana Buddhism was superior to Hinayana when seen from both doctrinal and philosophical viewpoints. He had a strong desire to unify the two trends of Buddhism, and explained the purpose of writing his books as a way of 'helping the public know of the need for unifying Buddhist doctrines which are about to be divided into many branches'.

Murakami's theory of 'Mahayana not being Buddhism' is echoed in the assertion ofTominaga Nakamoto (富永仲基) in the Edo era. As Murakami was a Buddhist monk, his theory caused a sensation at the time when Mahanaya was believed to be the direct transcription of Buddha's words. As a result, Murakami was forced for a time to leave the priesthood. Even though he may have been speaking what he perceived as the truth, it was difficult to advocate a view that opposed what was accepted as a common social view.

Suzuki Daisetu – introducer of Japanese Buddhism to other countries

Suzuki Daisetu (1870–1966) was given the posthumous name of Teitarō. Daisetu is the Buddhist name he was given by Kōgaku Sōen 洪嶽宗演 (1860–1919), the abbot of Engakuji in Kamakura. He played a significant role in introducing Zen Buddhism and other Buddhist philosophies into the United States and elsewhere through his translation into English of Buddhist scriptures and the publication of *Daijō Bukkyō Gairon* (Outline of Mahayana Buddhism) and, in English, *Zen and Its Influence on Japanese Culture*. He also became known as a scholar and educator in Jōdo shin sect Buddhist doctrines after becoming a professor at Ōtani University in 1921.

Daisetu was born in Kanazawa city in Ishikawa on the eighteenth day of the tenth month of October 1870 as the youngest child of the Yawara family of five sons and one daughter. His father was an officer of the Medical School of the Kanazawa

Clan. When Daisetu was six years old, his father died leaving the family destitute, and even though he entered No. Four Senior High School, he had to leave it. In due course, he became a teacher of English for higher grade children at an elementary school, and, following his mother's death when he was twenty years old, he determined to go to Tokyo to pursue higher education. In Tokyo, he entered Tokyo University and graduated from the faculty of philosophy in 1895. While studying at the university, he received training under Abbot Sōen of Engakuji in Kamakura. On the abbot's recommendation, he went to the United States to study Buddhist philosophy by himself.

During his twelve-year stay in the United States, Daisetu realized there were significant economic and political differences between the West and Japan. At the same time, he wondered what the East, especially Japan, could contribute to the world, and considered that philosophy and religion might be the area where Japan could make a contribution.

He considered that the foundation of Western views supported by Christianity was the 'concept of division to control things'. On the premise of dividing the subject and the object, he thought that Western people, centred on subjectivity, controlled and ruled the object as opposed to the subject.

In the East, which includes Japan, the subject and the object were not divided. He, therefore, considered that the 'divided' and the 'undivided' standpoints could supplement each other to help solve the problems resulting from modernization, such as alienation and nihilism. He then advocated that Zen Buddhism and Shinran's salvation by faith represented the typical 'undivided' philosophy. For example, Shinran preached that both good and wicked people equally could be saved by chanting '*Namu Amidabutsu*' (I sincerely believe in Amitābha). Suzuki Daisetu considered this position was 'indiscriminative wisdom' – without dividing good and evil.

New religions in the Buddhist tradition

We have seen how various reforms were attempted in the Buddhist community even after the Meiji Restoration, and in the modernizing process, Japan's Buddhism was considered in the

global context. In the process of modernization, urbanization and Westernization, many people migrated to large cities. As they lost the sense of solidarity within their communities, they began to suffer from loneliness. The existing Buddhist sects were unable to support them fully, and so the emerging new religions began to capture the hearts of the people.

Kokuchūkai 国柱会, Sōka Gakkai 創価学会, Reiyūkai 霊友会 and many other emerging religions are Buddhism-oriented.[3] New Buddhism-oriented religions are mostly inclined to the Nichiren sect and esoteric Buddhism. Those of the Nichiren sect persuasion are Kokuchūkai (established in the name of Risshō Ankokukai 立正安国会 in 1885, and renamed Kokuchūkai in 1914), Sōka Gakkai (established in 1930), Reiyūkai (1930) and Risshō Kōseikai 立正佼成会 (1938). Nichirenism, advocated by Tanaka Chigaku of Kokuchūkai exerted great political and social influence on modern Japan under the emperor system because it provided the ideological background for the invasion of other countries. Both Sōka Gakkai and Reiyūkai are major New Religions with considerable numbers of followers.

Miyazawa Kenji and Kokuchūkai

It has recently come to be known that Miyazawa Kenji 宮沢賢治 (1896–1933), a poet and author, was a pious believer of the *Lotus Sutra*. At the age of eighteen, he became an enthusiastic follower, and in December 1920, he became a member of Kokuchūkai presided over by Tanaka Chigaku 田中智学 (1861–1939).

His admiration of Tanaka Chigaku can be readily understood from his letter addressed to Hosaka Kanai 保坂嘉内 (1896–1937), dated 2 December 1920, in which he said: 'I became a member of the Belief Division of Kokuchūkai ... I obey Mr Tanaka just as I follow Venerable Nichiren. If ordered, I would go to the frozen lands of Siberia or to a remote area in China.'

Kokuchūkai was founded by Tanaka Chigaku as a lay Buddhist organization. Kokuchū means pillar of the nation. The name was taken from the words of Nichiren who described himself as the pillar of Japan when he was involved in the oppression of Nichiren Buddhists in 1271: 'Nichiren is the pillar of Japan. To

lose Nichiren will mean that the country will lose its pillar.' (*Senjishō*) Tanaka Chigaku was born the son of a medical practitioner in Nihombashi, Edo (Tokyo), who was a devoted Nichiren sect follower. His father died when Chigaku was ten years old, and, according to his father's wish, he became a monk of the sect. However, at the age of nineteen, he left the temple and became a layman in order to pursue his own goals.

Chigaku considered that the emperor was the personification of the truth of the *Lotus Sutra*, and tried to propagate the Nichiren sect to the world from the Japan-centred viewpoint. His plan was to unify the world with Japan and the emperor at its centre. The doctrine of Kokuchūkai was called 'Nichirenism'. Ishihara Kanji 石原完爾 (1886–1949) who masterminded the Manchurian Incident and the foundation of Manchukuo in Manchuria, northeast China, while acting as the chief of operations staff of the Kantō Troop, and the terrorist Inoue Nisshō were also members of the Nichiren sect. Nichirenism was the ideological basis for Japan's invasion of China. It justified foreign invasion.

Kenji was a lifetime member of Kokuchūkai, and attempted to spread the *Lotus Sutra* through his literary works. It is generally believed that his belief in the *Lotus Sutra* was behind his famous poem 'Not to be daunted by rain'. In particular, his attitudes to be good to all people around are expressed in the passage: 'Not to be daunted by the rain/ Not to be daunted by the winds/ Nor to be daunted by the heat of the summer (I wish I would become such a person).' The act of the bodhisattva, as taught in the *Lotus Sutra*, that keeps practising the precepts of the sutra, despite persecution is reflected both explicitly and implicitly.

Various new religions

Sōka Gakkai was established in Tokyō by Makiguchi Tsunesaburō 牧口常三郎 (1871–1944) and Toda Jōsei 戸田城聖 (1900–58) as 'Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai (Value-Creating Educational Society)' in November 1930. It began as a lay religious organization under the Nichiren Shū subsect of the Nichiren sect with Fuji Taishakuji as its grand head temple. The organization advocated living an exemplary life, including the practice of good

deeds, and emphasized how one's prayers can be answered in this world; and it also promotes a new social, political and economic order. During the Second World War, government control over religions was strengthened, leading to criticism of the doctrines of the Jōdo shin and Nichiren sects. Chairman Makiguchi told his followers not to venerate Shintō. Because he refused to worship the paper amulet issued by Ise Grand Shrine, he was imprisoned and died there.

After the Second World War, Sōka Gakkai aggressively launched a nationwide campaign to promote its doctrine while accusing other religions of being heretical. In 1964, in order to consolidate its objective of bringing about the unification of politics and religion, Sōka Gakkai established the Kōmei Party. Since 1967, the party has maintained seats in the Diet. However, in 1970, Sōka Gakkai and the Kōmei Party split into separate entities. Later, in November 1991, Sōka Gakkai left the Nichiren shū subsect, and instead is now seeking to be directly connected with the founder Nichiren.

Reiyūkai was founded in 1930 in Tokyo by Kubo Kakutarō 久保角太郎 (1892–1944) and Kotani Kimi 小谷喜美 (1901–71) based on the philosophy of Nishida Mugaku 西田無学 (1850–1919, real name Toshizō 利蔵). The membership is said to be about three million. Reiyūkai has its base as a lay religious organization and places importance on memorial services for ancestors. The organization considers that social problems are caused because people do not conduct memorial services for their ancestors. The main features of this organization are to encourage followers to attain psychic force (ability to perceive messages from the spiritual world) through reciting the prayer of the Nichiren sect and reading the sutra, and to conduct services for ancestors in order to make their society a better place to live in. Lay orientation means that followers can live a religiously meaningful, non-cloistered life as lay followers.

Other followers of esoteric Buddhism are Shin-nyo-en (est. 1950), Agon-shū (est. 1954) and a few others. The principles of lay centrism, salvation in this world and the linkage of life are common to new religions in modern Japan in general. The principle of 'salvation in this world' means to achieve salvation while living in this world instead of attaining Buddhahood after death.

The principle of the 'linkage of life' sees the universe as a whole to be an embodiment of endless life and suggests that no living thing on the earth can live alone. All living things are living in a linkage of life connected with the life of the whole universe and other living things, and receive an endless supply of life from this linkage. Based on this concept, salvation is sought in this world in the state of peace and well-being in which people enjoy an emotionally rich and fulfilling life.

The new religions attract people who have lost a sense of solidarity with their community members and who suffer a sense of alienation as a result of rapid urbanization and living in nuclear families.

Reviving Japanese Buddhism

In recent years, many Buddhist monks have been working to restore the strength of traditional Buddhism through various kinds of social activity. One such example is Arima Jitsujō 有馬実成 (1936–2000). Having been born the son of a monk family at Genkōji 原江寺 of the Sōtō sect in Tokuyama city, Yamaguchi prefecture, he studied at Komazawa University in Tokyo, which is the university run by the Sōtō sect, and returned to his home temple upon graduation. He discovered that the ashes of Korean people who had been brought to Japan as forced labour and had died in the US air raids on Tokuyama city during the Second World War had not been returned to their homes on the peninsula. Arima began collecting and returning the ashes, and in 1979, set up the Sōtōshū Volunteer Association (SVA) at a time when Cambodia was in turmoil and many people sought refuge in neighbouring countries. The SVA provided relief and support to Cambodian refugees (in Thailand) including the publication of books in the Khmer language. Later, its activities were expanded to help people in the slums of Bangkok, Thailand, and the production and distribution of educational books in Laos. The main focus of its activities were educational activities for children and supporting self-help activities in South East Asia. After the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake of 1995, SVA organized relief activities for the victims. In 1999, SVA was restructured as an organization with 2,000 members and

renamed the Shanti Volunteer Association (chairperson Matsumoto Zendō 松永然道). Arima's activities were modelled after those of Dōgen, the founder of the Sōtō sect, as well as those of Eizon and Ninshō in the Kamakura era. He died on 18 September 2000 leaving behind his last words:

> The life of sixty-five years with a small pledge
> Living and learning together with others
> And now proceeding to the state of serenity

Notes

[1] Yūsen Kashiwabara, *Nihon Bukkyōshi Kindai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō bunkan, 1990).
[2] Fumikiko Sueki, *Meiji Shisōkaron* (Tokyo: Transview, 2004). Fumikiko Sueki, *Kindai Nihon no Shisō Saikō* (Tokyo: Transview, 2004).
[3] See Susumu Shimazono, *Gendai Kyūsai Shūkyō Ron* (Seikyūsha, 1992).

CHAPTER 16

THE SHIKOKU PILGRIMAGE – VISITING THE ANCIENT SITES OF KŌBŌ DAISHI



THE SHIKOKU PILGRIMAGE is unlike the Saikoku pilgrimage, where one visits the thirty-three sites of Kannon, but rather it is a journey that consists of eighty-eight sites in Shikoku, which are said to be the ancient sites of Kōbō Daishi Kūkai. At each site, people pay homage at the Daishi Hall. Both pilgrimages are similar in that one goes to sacred sites; however, the pilgrimage of Shikoku has come to be traditionally called 'Shikoku Henro'.

The Shikoku Pilgrimage is said to be 1,400 kilometres long and takes fifty to sixty days for someone to walk the entire route. Ryōzenji, situated in Tokushima prefecture, has been designated as temple number one and Ōkuboji, of Kagawa prefecture, has been designated as temple number eighty-eight. Actually, the ideal route is to begin at Ryōzenji in Awa (Tokushima prefecture), then on to Tosa (Kōchi prefecture), then Iyo (Ehime prefecture), then Sanuki (Kagawa prefecture), arriving finally at Ōkuboji. Doing the pilgrimage in numerical order is called *jun-uchi*, while doing it all in reverse order, in other words, beginning at Ōkuboji, is called *gyaku-uchi*.

Origin of the number eighty-eight

It is not at all clear what the significance of the number eighty-eight is, but there are various theories which offer possible explanations. For example, the character for '*kome*', or rice, can be divided into three parts which read: eight, ten, eight or eighty-

eight. Alternatively, it could be a reference to the eighty-eight illusions of the mind of Jaken which could cause someone to sway from the principle of `Three Worlds and Four Noble Truths` as written in the *Kusharon*; or it could be the sum total of the years of misfortune for men (forty-two), women (thirty-three) and children (thirteen), or the number of eight large spiritual towers which Kōbō Daishi constructed on the ancient sites of Sakyakumi multiplied by ten with eight added to the total to make eighty-eight.

There is also a theory that this number came from the Kumano ninety-nine *ōji* route. In other words, the Kumano ninety-nine *ōji* is the road to Kumano along which one worships at certain small shrines called '*ōji*' along the way leading up to Kumano shrine. However, even if by adding up all of the *ōji* located at each place, the total number does not amount to ninety-nine. Over the centuries, the location and number of *ōji* have changed but in most cases the actual number has been closer to eighty-eight. Yet when one speaks of the number of *ōji* it is always ninety-nine and by adding Kumano Shrine, located at the end of the route, the total reaches one hundred. The magical significance of the number ninety-nine has been given more attention, and as a result, the actual number has not become an issue so that the 'ninety-nine *ōji*' has become fixed. However, at Kumano, the number eighty-eight still lingers in the background and it could be said that the Shikoku Pilgrimage, which was strongly influenced by Kumano, has accepted this number. Thus, at the moment it is clearly difficult to say just which theory is correct.

The first reference to the Shikoku Pilgrimage in historical documents dates back to the twelfth-century book entitled *Konjaku Monogatari*. In the fourteenth section of the thirty-first fascicle, it states: 'In olden times, three priests who travelled along the path of Buddha went along the road of Shikoku to Iyo, Sanuki, Awa and Tosa, proceeding close to the sea. On their journey, these priests unexpectedly found themselves walking along a mountain path and having lost their way walked further into the woods, praying that they would find their way to the beach. From this, we learn that as early as the late Heian period (794–1192) there were priests or *hijiri* who, while conducting training, travelled close to the sea and circumnavigated Shikoku.'

However, there are very few historical documents that refer to the eighty-eight sites of the Shikoku Pilgrimage. The oldest reference to 'eighty-eight places' is to be found on the copper temple gong in the small temple or Ōdō of Asajinushi, in Motokawa, Tosa district, Kōchi prefecture. It states: 'Daidanna village, eighty-eight places... to those wishing to dedicate their hearts ... (Myōsei) ... Bunmei 3, third month, first day.' Bunmei 3 is 1471. However, the inscription cannot be confirmed and it has been pointed out by some that it might actually be Tenmei 3, which is 1783. From this date, until the seventeenth century, no documents with a similar reference can be found. However, after Enpō 5 (1677), references to 'eighty-eight' appear in a number of documents.

Early Edo period guidebook

In the guidebook written by the Kōya priest Shinnen in Jōkyō 4 (1687), entitled *Shikoku Henro Michishirube*, the number of temples listed is eighty-eight and the order they are listed is the same as they are today – that is proceeding from Awa, Tosa, Iyo, Sanuki, from Ryōzenji to Ōkuboji. Furthermore, the first eighteen temples have been properly labelled with numbers from one to eighteen. Each place has a sacred hymn or *goeika* and in this way, the temples have been 'prepared' in all respects. Given all of this, it is reasonable to assume that today's eighty-eight sites came about due to the efforts of Shinnen.

Shinnen was a low-ranking Mt Kōya priest – actually part priest, part layman – belonging to Kōngōbuji who took part in social works such as collecting donations for such things as the repairing and building of temple towers. In addition, he is known for his sustained efforts regarding the upkeep of the Shikoku Pilgrimage path because it was the pilgrimage path of the ancient sites of Kōbō Daishi, and for his success in getting many believers to complete the pilgrimage.

However in the book, *Shikoku Henro Reijōki*, written by another Mt Kōya priest named Jakuhon 寂本 (n.d.), published in Genroku 2 (1689), there are no numbers attached to the temples and the order goes from Sanuki, to Awa, to Tosa and finally to Iyo. The author begins his narrative at Zentsūji, the birthplace of

Kōbō Daishi, making this format quite different from books written in recent times. In addition, he provides explanations for a total of ninety-five sites but does not include any *goeika*. It is worth noting that ninety-five places are highlighted.

It can be said, therefore, that by the late-seventeenth century, the eighty-eight sites were well established. However, in Shinnen's book of Jōkyō 4 (1687) the numbers and order of the sites were explained, and even though they agree with the current view, Jakuhon's book of Genroku 2 (1689) ignores this and starts with Zentsūji and proceeds to identify approximately ninety places. Could it be that the theory of the lower-ranking Shinnen was not always recognized by those in authority and there was no consensus to accept his view? Around this time it is thought that the Saikoku Pilgrimage reached its peak in popularity, while during this same period the Eighty-Eight Temple Shikoku Pilgrimage was being promoted.

Guide maps of the Shikoku Pilgrimage

So, when did the eighty-eight temples become the established eighty-eight sites recognized today? In recent research, maps of the Shikoku Pilgrimage said to be pictorial guides of the pilgrimage are considered to have greatly influenced this decision. The first such maps, which played a significant role in this matter and became the model of those that were produced subsequently, was the 'Shikoku Henro Ezu' dated the twenty-eighth day of the first month of 1763 (Hōreki 13). This map notes the temple numbers of the eighty-eight sites exactly as they are recognized today. It also has the interesting feature of including a seated Kōbō Daishi in the middle and having an esoteric Buddhist meaning related to the Shikoku pilgrimage attached by the priest, Kōhan, from the temple office of Mt Kōya.

Kōhan became the 304th person to be put in charge of temple affairs at Kongōbuji on Mt Kōya around Hōreki 9 (1759), and died on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month of 1768 (Meiwa 5). The actions of the Mt Kōya temple office of attaching an Esoteric Buddhist meaning to this first map of the Shikoku Pilgrimage were decisively important. Most maps made after this paid attention to this particular detail and placed Kōbō Daishi in

the middle making it the standard that was followed thereafter. Through the publication of this map, which was seen to have the authority of the Mt Kōya temple office, it is thought that the eighty-eight places of the pilgrimage were formed.

People who make the pilgrimage

So, just how much time and money did it take to travel around Shikoku during the Edo period? In Tempō 14 (1843), Kurisuhara Shōdayū (n.d.), a village headman from the village of Kamiyama, Myōzai district of Awa prefecture, with his wife and sons making up a group of twelve, embarked on the pilgrimage and took sixty days to complete it. During that time, it is said that two sacks of rice were necessary for each person's expenditures. This amount is the equivalent of 720,000 yen for the group of twelve if converted at today's rate. Such a large amount was required because of the large group he travelled with; however by looking at the diaries of other village headmen and merchants, there is not much difference in the amount of money and the number of days needed and it seems that several servants were taken as part of the group as well. If somebody could not find all the money at once and needed more time to do so it did not prevent him from becoming a pilgrim. For example, people did such things as pool money together with others and choose a representative to go on a 'proxy pilgrimage' for them or to save travel expenses and to cut down the number of days a pilgrim might decide to run from temple to temple.

On the other hand, 'life pilgrims' who were similar to `begging pilgrims` could only stay the night at facilities for pilgrims called '*kichinyado*' because they were destitute. Those who could rent a place to stay under the eaves of people's homes, rock caves or simple huts were fortunate, but it is said that most had to spend the night outside in the wind and rain. 'Sick pilgrims' were those mainly affected with a sickness, which at that time, was painful and chronic and they were not allowed to be in the same room as others. There were also 'guilty pilgrims', namely those who had committed a crime and had been forced out of their village.

On Shikoku, the local people generally welcomed pilgrims. A Shikoku pilgrim is one who wanted to conduct a pilgrimage – a

journey in which there was almost no consideration as to what one's qualifications to participate should be. It seemed that the remoteness of the land called Shikoku was something such people were thankful for. For example, when people went on pilgrimages such as the Saikoku pilgrimage, which includes the big cities of Kyoto, Nara and Ōsaka, it was easy to be seen by others. However, the Shikoku Pilgrimage is quite different insofar as most of the route consisted of visiting temples hidden in the countryside. This became the best situation in which to 'disappear'. The environment of Shikoku was also where one could spend most of the time alone. Spending time at the sacred sites was important not only for those with a strong sense of devotion but also for those wishing for forgiveness of their sins and for a cure to a particular sickness.

Furthermore, the pilgrim path travelled all around Shikoku, so one ended up following a loop, although there was, to some degree, an end point whereby one could easily begin following the route again. It was a circular course unlike the straight courses of the pilgrimages to Ise Shrine and Zenkōji. This circular characteristic became a factor for the emergence of 'life pilgrims', in other words, those who spent their entire lives doing the pilgrimage route over and over again.

Charitable giving during the pilgrimage

Osettai was of most importance in helping pilgrims continue in their begging lifestyle. *Osettai* is the action of local people giving food and offering lodging for one night to pilgrims. Such actions were carried out gratuitously and those who gave to pilgrims believed that they would receive the same amount of merit as if they embarked on the pilgrimage themselves.

In most cases, approximately three places of lodging or *henroyado* were located close to the temples or shrines and the majority of pilgrims stayed at such places or at a nearby temple. Often farmers operated such simple places with the time they had available and the facilities were like a *kichinyado* in which one gave as much money as one could for firewood and bedding. Amongst such places there were some that appeared just like a proper *ryokan* and these became to be called 'a paid place of lodging'.

As *osettai*, farmers would also invite pilgrims to stay the night for free. Such houses are called '*zenkonyado*'. The house-owner would offer invitations on such days as a 'special day' or *ennichi* of an important person, or if it were a household where someone had died, it was hoped to get a pilgrim to offer prayers for such a person. The father of those homes, which tried to become like a '*zenkonyado*', would go to the pilgrim path in the early evening and wait for pilgrims. For homes close to temples, the owners would disclose their intentions to those at the temple and wait for someone at the temple to bring a pilgrim to them. Once the pilgrim arrived, they would ask him to chant at the household Buddhist altar, they would provide dinner for him and in the morning, when he was about to leave, they would offer him food such as rice and potatoes. In return, it was customary for the pilgrim to leave behind a name-slip or *osamefuda*, which was presented at each temple to show gratitude for such hospitality.

Other than being provided with a place to stay, pilgrims were also often presented with a small amount of money or food. For example, such goods were distributed when pilgrims would pass on the road or charity groups called '*settaikō*' were organized and goods brought by the local people would be distributed to pilgrims close to the temple or at a tea hut along the pilgrim path. The motive for doing this was to accumulate as much merit or '*zenkon*' as possible. However, it seemed that the local people most expected to be able to associate with pilgrims and listen to unusual stories.

A Shikoku pilgrim's attire was white and consisted of a sash, bag, nameslip box, gloves, leg pads and sandals. Today, there are some pilgrims who do not always wear all of this. However, all items of the outfit and accessories can be bought at the store inside Temple 1, Ryōzenji. The pilgrim also wears a hat on which (as well as on sashes) is written the words 'Dōgyō ninin', which means that one is walking with Kōbō Daishi. The pilgrim is dressed entirely in white from the white cloth that covers the bag and the waist. An old custom is to hang the nameslip box around one's neck, close to one's waist. The staff, or *kongō tsue*, is about 120 cm and is covered with a hat that has '*Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*' written on it and is treated with the utmost care because it acts as the symbol of Kōbō Daishi. The nameslips, which are

approximately 3 cm in width and 15 cm in length, are made from paper. Written on them are the words '*Hōnō Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijō Junpai Dōgyō Ninin*' ('I undertake this pilgrimage, accompanied by Kobo Daishi in my heart, which I dedicate to Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijō'.)and one writes the date and one's name on each slip. Such slips are presented at the Daishi Hall and Main Hall at each temple as well as to the giver of *osettai*, or when one goes to other sites not part of the eighty-eight.

Recently, people have been engaging in recreational pilgrimages traveling by car, taxi and bus. But, on the other hand, there are many who walk the pilgrimage as it was done in olden times – many using the journey as an opportunity to reflect on their way of life. Increasingly, today's pilgrim is not so much interested in 'benefits in this life' but rather in 'finding one's self'.

AFTERWORD



IN THE INTRODUCTION, we set out three distinctive characteristics of Japanese Buddhism:

1) Some Buddhist precepts are often ignored, as seen typically in married monks.
2) The leading Buddhist sects of today are the successors of the newly-established Buddhist sects that developed during the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.
3) Monks perform funerals.

We have examined the historic processes of how these particular features of Japanese Buddhism developed by focusing on monks and their way of life. We have seen that Kamakura New Buddhism (end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century) played a fundamental role in the evolution of Japanese Buddhism, but it should not be forgotten that the founders of New Buddhist sects built their doctrines on the foundations of the theoretical achievements of ancient Buddhist leaders such as Saichō, Kūkai, Hōnen, Shinran, Dōgen, Nichiren, and so on who studied the Tendai Sect at Enryakuji in their youth; while Myōe studied the Shingon Sect at Jingoji, and Eizon did the same at Daigoji.

Furthermore, we have seen how the key 'activists' in the story, such as Hōnen, Shinran, Ippen, Nichiren, Eisai, Dōgen, Myōe and Eizon, several of whom had lost a parent in childhood, were known as hermits who broke away from the establishment and were initially considered outsiders, although subsequently came to be respected by believers and recognized by the authorities.

During the Muromachi period, the teachings of New

Kamakura Buddhist sects were accepted by the establishment. In particular, Musō Sokeki and other monks of the Rinzai sect were closely associated with the Muromachi shogunate, and treated as 'official monks', serving also as political advisers. In contrast, the Shinran school, represented by Ren-nyo, and the Nichiren's school with Nisshin as a leading monk, were at times oppressed because its teachings were considered too radical. Nevertheless, in the latter half of the Muromachi period, these sects succeeded in spreading their teachings among the samurai, artisans, merchants and farmers.

In the Edo period, Buddhism was designated as the national religion. New Kamakura Buddhist sects were firmly established as 'Funerary Buddhism' thereby serving their followers' needs for ancestor worship and conducting funerals for them. Against the general notion that the Buddhist community had strayed from the right path, each sect developed its own doctrinal studies and there were monks like Suzuki Shōsan who devoted themselves to establishing an ethical basis for the common people in their everyday lives.

With the arrival of the Meiji Restoration, Buddhism lost its status as the national religion, which led to the rise of the anti-Buddhist movement and the concomitant destruction of temples thereby threatening the future of Japanese Buddhism. However, thanks to the efforts made by monks and the policy changes by the Meiji government, the Buddhist community managed to survive the crisis. In 1872, monks were legally allowed to marry, which in turn triggered the criticism that Japanese Buddhism ignored the precepts. During the Meiji period and later, Murakami Senshō and others undertook scholarly research into the history of Japanese Buddhism, while Kiyozawa Manshi and others initiated Buddhism-awakening movements. As a result, Buddhism has survived and continues to be active up to the present day.

However, these days young Japanese are mostly indifferent to Buddhism and know little about it. I teach Japanese Buddhism at my university and I am regularly reminded that only a limited number of my students, even though they live in a Buddhist country, know the name of the founder of Buddhism. On the other hand, strangely enough, the majority know the name of the founder of Christianity. Those who know that the birthday of

Śākyamuni is 8 April are very few. There are almost none who know that Śākyamuni is supposed to have died on 15 February, and that he is assumed to have attained enlightenment on 8 December. It is not just a matter of criticizing students for their lack of knowledge, but also monks for their negligence. The monks do not seem to make sufficient efforts to convey the attractive points and meaning of Buddhist teachings to young people.

To close, as an outsider who studies the history of Buddhism in a university, I would like to make three proposals to those engaged in Buddhism. First, monks should fully understand the meaning and function of a funeral. Although an increasing number of people conduct funerals among friends without asking monks to attend, funeral services will continue to be the main moment of engagement between Buddhist monks and the laity. As we have seen, monks were prevented from engaging in funeral services because of the stigma surrounding the taint of death. Consequently, the fact that monks began conducting funeral services was a revolutionary thing.

The subsequent emphasis on funerals, however, is seen as the reason for the degeneration of Japanese Buddhism. Indeed, my own view is that those monks who are solely engaged in funerals and memorial services without addressing the wider issues of suffering in this world should be criticized as being corrupt. Even so, as many people share a belief that the deceased person would not rest in peace if they heard that a dismembered corpse was found lying on the ground; so monks are responding to people's fundamental desire to be treated decently after they die. Monks, therefore, should be well aware of the deeper meaning of a funeral.

Second, monks should participate positively in voluntary activities. Japan has enjoyed peace for more than a half a century. However, the United States began fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan after 9/11 (11 September 2001). A conflict between Islam and Christianity is thought to lie behind this war. Being able to adopt a third-party position, Buddhist monks could contribute in various ways to help reconcile the two sides.

Devoted relief services carried out by people such as Ninshō or Mother Teresa for the victims of disease and other sufferings should be the major focus of Buddhist monks in the twenty-first

century. When I chose the relief activities of Eizon and Ninshō for sufferers of Hansen's disease during the Kamakura Period as the theme of my graduation thesis, I went on to study Japanese Buddhism. The more I understood the situation in which Hansen's disease victims were placed in those days, the deeper I felt the importance, difficulty and innovativeness of what Eizon and Ninshō did to save the patients of Hansen's disease. I continue my study of Buddhism in Japan because I consider the activities of Eizon, Ninshō and other Buddhist monks of Kamakura New Buddhism to be in defiance of the unfortunate restrictions imposed upon them in the medieval period – they provide us with good models for living in the modern world which sometimes also places limitations on us that are not necessarily good. We touched on the work of the monk Arima Jitsujō who instigated relief and rehabilitation activities for refugees from Cambodia and for the victims of the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake. It is hoped that many other monks and lay people will follow in his footsteps.

My third suggestion is that monks should be positively involved in terminal care. For patients with terminal cancer, not only treatment to alleviate their pain but also spiritual care is essential. Religious leaders should be pro-active in offering counselling to them. In the Christian community, for example, Catholic priests routinely visit terminal cancer patients in hospitals and offer counselling. In the Buddhist community, there are only a few hospices such as Bihara (Buddhist hospice). Monks could begin by serving as counsellors at hospitals, if there is one run by their sect, as part of its terminal medical care.

One day, a female student majoring in science said to me: 'I want to know about Buddhism, not as knowledge of the past but rather the meaning it offers for us living today – that is, Buddhism as human wisdom for living.' Looking at her enthusiastic and earnest eyes, I realized the importance of Buddhist studies. Perhaps young Japanese have never had the opportunity to consider Buddhism or other religions objectively, and when they become university students, many become interested in religions as a source of human wisdom. I hope my book may at least help people to consider taking the steps towards thinking about these matters.

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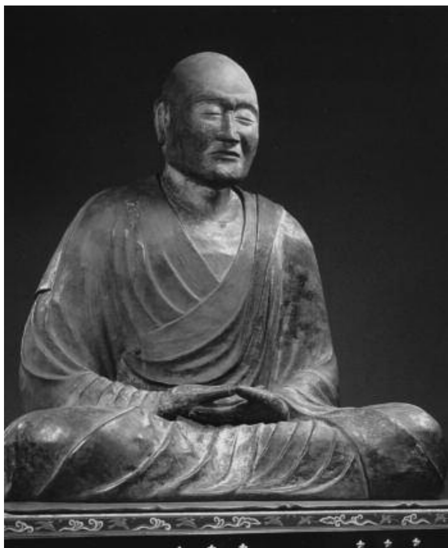
5

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Nichiren (1222–82) reading a sutra from a scroll (thirteenth century)

Mt Daijin

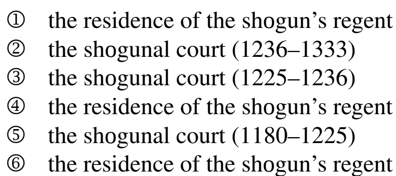
Ninotorii

Wakamiya ōji

Hamano ōtorii

Namerikawa

Yuigshama



① the residence of the shogun's regent
② the shogunal court (1236–1333)
③ the shogunal court (1225–1236)
④ the residence of the shogun's regent
⑤ the shogunal court (1180–1225)
⑥ the residence of the shogun's regent

A conceptual map of Kamakura (thirteenth century)

15



The Great Buddha of Kamakura (thirteenth century)

16



Kōmyōji

17



Jizō shrine

18

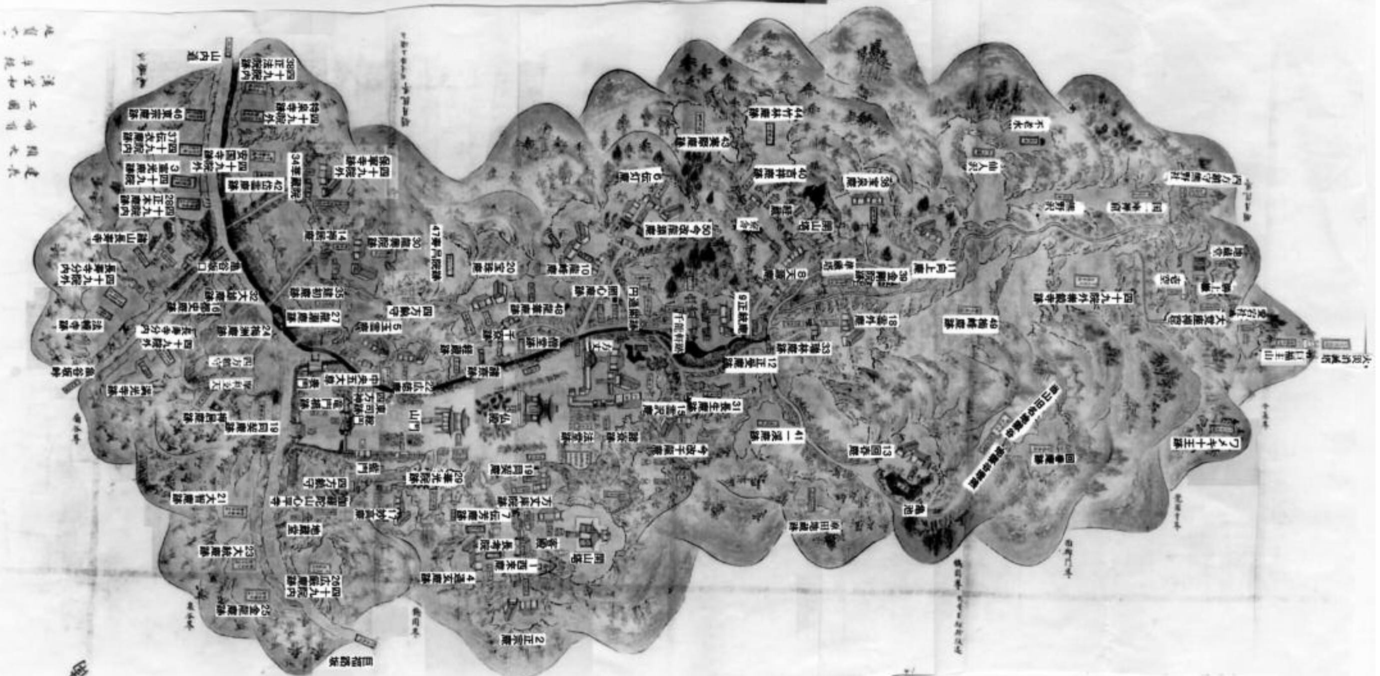


Tsurugaoka hachimangū

19



Kenchōji

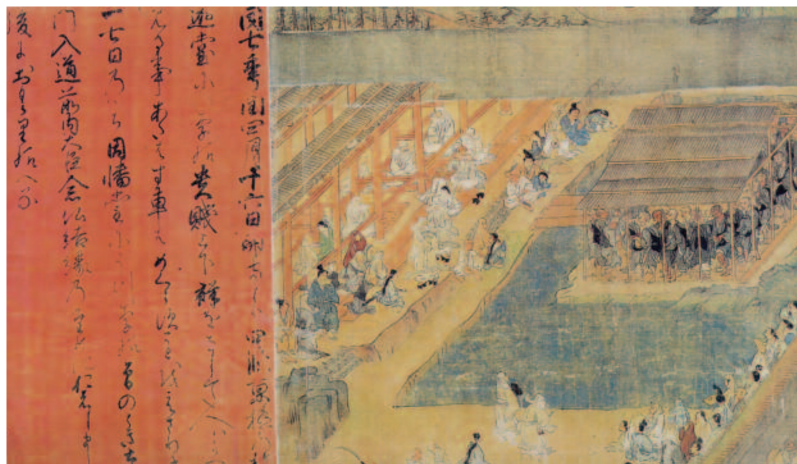


Kenchōji map, 1678

21

Chōgen (1121–1206)

22



Part of a scroll of Ippen's biography, written at Sekidera temple in 1284, featuring Ippen's followers dancing and chanting *Namu amida Butsu*

23



Daibutsuden, Nara (rebuilt 1709)

24



Eisai (1141–1215)

25



Kitayama Juhachi Ken Do (sanitorium for leprosy patients built by Eizon's order of monks, founded in the thirteenth century)

26



Painting of Honen saving a prostitute (fourteenth century)

27



Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871–1944)

28



Kinkuji ('Golden Pavilion')

29

Shikoku pilgrimage map (eighteenth century)